



# Death to the Klan!

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NEWSPAPER OF THE JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMITTEE

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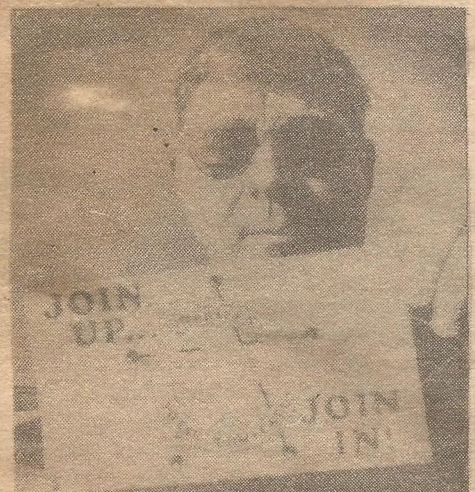
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December 3, 1983, Los Angeles, California

## Klan Rally in LA

### Aryan Nations & KKK Build Racist Alliance

The Ku Klux Klan is alive and active in Los Angeles. Last December 3 in Lakeview Terrace, an outlying Black community in L.A., 25 racist nightriders armed with shotguns, rifles and teargas gathered for a cross "lighting." Filmed by a CBS camera crew and watched by the LAPD, they raised their arms in Nazi salutes and chanted, "Hail Victory" as three flaming 20-foot crosses lit up the night sky.

This unity rally by the Klan, Aryan Nations and Nazis took place after a deal was negotiated with the police to allow the crossburning in exchange for misdemeanor arrests. 15 Klansmen and Nazis were initially arrested on felony charges and later released on \$50 bond. Subsequently, the district attorney refused to press charges and the city attorney filed the misdemeanor case. The racists have appeared for arraignment twice and both times the case has been postponed. Inside and outside the courtroom the Klansmen and Nazis have been protected by plainclothes and riot-helmeted police.

One of those arrested was Peter Lake (aka Peter Lawrence) a contributing editor for pornographer Larry Flynt's *The Rebel* magazine. Lake infiltrated the Aryan Nations with the help of Mike Canale, a member of the National Socialist White Peoples Party (NSWPP) and a bodyguard for California Klan leader Tom Metzger during his 1980 congressional campaign.

#### Rising Racist Violence

The December 3 crossburning is only the most dramatic of recent acts of Klan terror in the LA area. The Klan appeared publicly last July in Sunland, a mainly white community next to Lakeview Terrace, where they picketed in their robes and carried US and confederate flags in support of a slain white police officer. Since then, shots have been fired into the home of Black TV actor Todd Bridges. Klan and Nazi literature have been distributed at local high schools and hang outs and "white power" spraypainting has begun to appear in several neighborhoods. On January 3, another cross was burned before dawn on the lawn of a Black family in Westchester, near the LA airport.

Following their July, 1983 picket, the Klan applied to the L.A. Fire Department for a permit to burn a cross. The Fire Department initially denied the permit on the grounds of fire safety, but told the Klan to come back when they had a safer site. The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee (JBAC) called a demonstration which picketed the Fire Department while Klansmen, led by local cyclops Frank Silva, heckled the anti-racists and staged a counterdemonstration the next day in full Klan dress.

Frank Silva then announced in a newspaper interview plans for a Klan march and crossburning in Sunland for the Fall of 1983. On October 29, JBAC and others including the New Afrikan Center for Black Survival picketed the Sunland Municipal Building. Racists, including Klansmen Silva and Nazi Mike Canale, again heckled. This time, the Zionist Jewish Defense League (JDL) also showed up, supposedly to oppose the Klan but actually to attack the anti-Klan demonstration (see box, page 4). When they weren't allowed in the picket line, they called the Black demonstrators "n—s" and "monkeys," and tried to break through, but were fought off. The hour-long picket was a success in spite of the attempts to disrupt it.

#### Growing White Supremacist Unity

The December 3 crossburning marked the new unity of the fastest growing elements of the "racial right." Two of those arrested were Tom Metzger and Aryan Nations "Pastor" Richard Butler, leaders of some of the most sophisticated and violent white supremacist groups in the US today.

45-year-old Metzger, based in Southern California, heads two public organizations—WAPA (White American Political Association) and its newest affiliate group, WAR (White American Resistance)—as well as the secret paramilitary KKK of California. Metzger is a national ideologue and organizer, best known for having led the Klan Border Patrol, which called for killing all Mexicans who cross the border (see "Know Your Enemy," *DTTK* #2, May, 1983). Metzger won the Democratic Party nomination for Congress from his San Diego district in 1980 and polled over 80,000 votes

in his 1982 US Senate campaign. Metzger recently surfaced the WAR organization in Northern California with telephone "hate lines" playing recorded racist messages in 6 cities. He has joined with the Sacramento based White Student Union (WSU) and WAR has done coordinated leafleting at high schools and colleges, including UC-Berkeley.

Richard Butler is a Nazi—the leader of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, an Identity Movement church based at the neo-fascist Aryan Nations paramilitary camp in Hayden Lake, Idaho. In a recent issue of the Aryan Nations' publication, "Our Nation Awake," Butler wrote: "A true Aryan White man cannot conceive of anything but total Aryan victory. It is for him the finality of the struggle . . . total victory and total elimination of the enemy."

Butler began organizing the Aryan Nations in 1970 to bring together different right wing groups. The various groups keep different uniforms and names, but unite under the banner and organization of the Aryan

See LA Klan Opposed, page 4



Anti-Klan protest at Klan-Nazi arrests



# NEWS BRIEFS

## Alabama Klansman Sentenced to Death



An Alabama Klansman was convicted of murder by an Alabama jury, then sentenced to death by the judge, who overruled the jury's recommendation that he be given a life sentence. Henry Hays, 29, and another Klansman, James Knowles, murdered Michael Donald, 19, in 1981. Donald was chosen at random because the Klan wanted to kill a Black person in revenge for the mistrial of a Black man accused of killing a policeman. A witness said that although Donald fought, he was dragged into a car and taken to a remote area where his throat was cut, then he was hanged from a tree in downtown Mobile. Hays' father, Bennie Hays, 67, is a leader of the United Klans of America.

## Killer Cop Gets Reward

Anthony Sperl, the Los Angeles police officer who shot and killed 5 year old Patrick Mason last March, has received \$35,000 in workers compensation since the crime and has been exonerated of any criminal charges. He has received the \$35,000 for "psychological damages" caused by his murder of Patrick Mason.

## Nuclear Klansman

Until December, 1983, a Ku Klux Klansman was operating a control panel in a Chicago nuclear power plant. Commonwealth Edison Co. knew that the employee, Robert E. Schloneger, was an official of the Lake County Order of the Fiery Cross but claimed he was an able employee. He was quietly asked to resign in December when the *Arlington Heights Herald* quoted him as saying society would meet a catastrophic end next year. "The bombs have to fall in 1984," he said. "If they don't, within 10 years I'm going to take a gun and start shooting people."

## US Arms to South Africa

According to a report prepared by the American Friends Service Committee, U.S. arms sales to fascist South Africa have increased dramatically, in defiance of a U.S. embargo. The ban on sales of arms to South Africa, to protest the racist regime, was endorsed by the U.N. Security Council in 1977. But under the Reagan administration, the U.S. has licensed military exports of \$28.3 million — in contrast with 18.6 million for the entire period from 1950-1979, and none in 1980. "Rather than outright sales of large weapons systems," the report says, "exports by U.S. corporations consist to a great extent of the building blocks of modern weaponry — components, unfinished sub-assemblies and other technology that can easily be submerged in large whole transactions."

## Klansman Pistol Whipped

A robed Klansman who was passing out racist literature in an Alabama town was shot at and beaten up by a Black man October 9, 1983. Donnie Spradlin, 18, was leafleting for the Klan in the crowded Lanett town square when a Black man took two shots at them, then beat him with a .38 pistol until police arrived. Spradlin was rushed to the hospital, treated and released. Willie Truitt, 52, a Lanett city worker, was charged with attempted murder and released on \$25,000 bail.

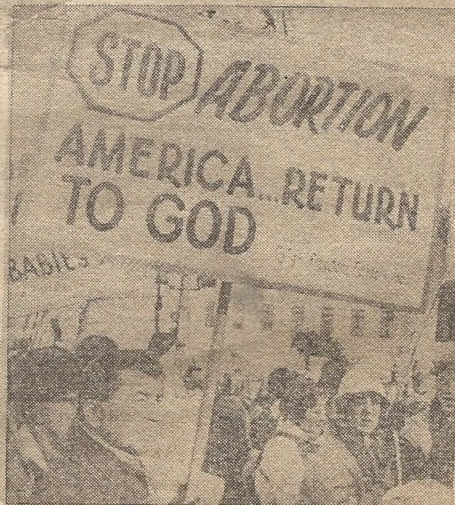
## Hollywood Klan



Television star Todd Bridges, 18, has been subject to Klan and police attacks since he moved to a white neighborhood in Los Angeles three years ago, and the attacks have intensified this year. In June a gang of white youths came to his door with baseball bats. In September, police pulled him out of his car and handcuffed him, accusing him of stealing his own car. In November his Porsche was firebombed. Bridges, who stars in the interracial comedy *Diff'rent Strokes*, says he has received mail and telephone threats from Klansmen.

## Killer Cops: Boston

The Black community in Boston is demanding justice for the killer cops who shot Elijah Pate, a Black youth, on September 7, 1983. According to eyewitnesses, several of the five shots that killed Pate were fired while he was fleeing. After he was shot, police kicked him in the groin to "subdue" him, and he died before the ambulance arrived 30 minutes later. Detectives Robert Buccafusca, John Crowley and Walter Robinson have been cleared in the police investigation. Black ministers and organizations are demanding murder charges and the resignation of Police Commissioner Joseph Jordan, already implicated in the coverup of the 1975 police murder of James Bowden.



Anti-abortion march, Jan., 1984, Washington.

## Abortion Clinic Firebombed

The Feminist Women's Health Center in Everett, Washington, was firebombed by "pro-life" forces December 3, 1983. The attack, which caused \$40,000 damage and destroyed the only abortion clinic in this conservative area available to low-income women, came after four months of organizing and prayer vigils by WEBA (Women Exploited by Abortion), the Knights of Columbus (a Catholic Men's Organization) and a national group called Choose Life. No one has been arrested or has claimed credit for the bombing. The most violent attack on an abortion clinic in 1983, it was part of a national phenomenon. According to Uta Landy of the National Abortion Federation, "we get reports every day that there is an attack somewhere ... In the past month alone (December, 83) abortion clinics in El Paso, Memphis, Pittsburgh and Kansas City have had to withstand vandalism, pro-life candlelight vigils, bomb threats, clinic invasion and abusive telephone calls. It's a terrorist tactic and it's creating a real climate of fear." A defense committee has been formed to support the clinic which hopes to reopen in January, 1984.

## Kathy Boudin on Trial

On February 15, 1984, the trial of Kathy Boudin began in White Plains, New York. Kathy is being tried in connection with the 1981 attempted expropriation of a Brink's armored car, in which a number of New Afrikan and white revolutionaries were captured. The White Plains courthouse has been arrayed with extraordinary security devices, including concrete barricades, to give the impression that Kathy and her supporters are super-violent maniacs. Similar measures were taken in the Goshen, New York, trial of Kuwasi Balagoon, Judith Clark and David Gilbert, who took the position that they were freedom fighters, not criminals; and used their trials to argue for the necessity of armed struggle to liberate New Afrika and defeat US imperialism. Kathy, who is clear in her position as an anti-racist activist, is fighting the charges against her. The state has refused to sever her case from that of Sam Brown, the traitor in the case who turned state's evidence.

## Navy Recruiting Center Bombed

In December 1983, the clandestine United Freedom Front bombed a Navy Recruiting Center on Long Island in solidarity with freedom fighters in El Salvador. They dedicated the action to Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata, a Black Liberation Army freedom fighter killed by New York's Terrorist Task Force in 1981 and to Michael Stewart, the young Black artist murdered by New York Transit police (see story this issue). They expressed solidarity with the "locked down" political prisoners and grand jury resisters. A communique from the United Freedom Front in connection with another bombing in January is reprinted on page 13.

## It's O.KKK. to Kill Communists

Six Ku Klux Klansmen and Nazi Party members went on trial in Greensboro, North Carolina, in January, 1984, charged with violating the civil rights of the Communist Workers Party members shot to death in Greensboro in 1979. Four of the six were acquitted in a previous state trial. Ed Dawson, the FBI informant who led the attack which killed five anti-Klan activists, is among those indicted. Bernard Butkovitch, another federal agent whose participation was exposed, was not charged. The indictment is based on a little-used section of the civil rights law that will allow the Klansmen and Nazis to go free again unless it can be proved that the murders were directly motivated by the victims' race or religious beliefs. Most of the victims were white, and the Klan and Nazis are basing their defense on the claim that because the victims were communists, the murders were justified as part of their "patriotic duty." The judge barred the press and supporters of the victims from the jury selection, allowing only the families of the Nazis and Klan into the courtroom. A second acquittal in this case would be a victory for the state's strategy of legitimizing racist terror.

## White Leftist Fought with FMLN

Carroll Ishee, a white leftist who fought with the revolutionary movement in El Salvador (the FMLN) since 1981, was killed by US helicopter fire in August, 1983. The news of his death was not released by the State Department until January, 1984. Ishee is survived by his wife, Lavaun, a national leader of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), and a 12-year-old stepdaughter. Born in Mississippi in 1953, to a liberal family, his anti-imperialist views were shaped by the militancy of the Civil Rights Movement, and later by his work in solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in Southern Africa, particularly Angola. He lived and died in the spirit of Che Guevara, who made the world revolutionary struggle his own.

## Government on Red Alert

The Air Force has notified its contract representatives at 25 major defense firms to be on the alert for "terrorist" attacks. Hughes Helicopter and Rockwell International were among those notified. At Rockwell's Cedar Rapids, Iowa, plant, all lunch boxes, briefcases, and purses are searched. Grumman Aircraft has placed concrete highway barricades around its Long Island plant. Long Island has been the site of several bombings by the United Freedom Front in solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in Central America.

In a recent memo, employees at the US Capitol have been instructed how to respond to telephoned bomb threats. They are told to ask six questions: (1) where is the bomb? (2) what does it look like? (3) when is it set to go off? (4) did you set it? (5) why? (6) what is your name and address?



Demonstration in Rochester, New York, December, 1983, to protest the shooting of a Black youth by a killer cop. Alicia McCuller, 21, the daughter of community leader James McCuller, was in an argument with her boyfriend in front of her home on November 14 when she was shot twice by policeman James Whitmore. The Black community wore on the "No More Whitmore." In response, the Police Union demanded a Grand Jury into what it termed "threats" against Whitmore's life.



# Denmark Vesey: Slave Conspiracy

The Haitian Revolution of the late 1790s and early 1800s, led by a former slave, Toussaint L'Overture, had a major impact on Black resistance in the U.S. The Haitian Revolution, carried on by hundreds of thousands of African slaves, destroyed over 1400 sugar and coffee plantations, defeated the French armies of Napoleon and led to the first Black republic in the Western hemisphere.

Fear spread to every white plantation owner and supporter of slavery in the U.S. At the same time, Black slaves everywhere were inspired. In the three centuries before the Civil War there were over 250 slave revolts and conspiracies in the territory now occupied by the U.S. The first of these revolts occurred long before the "Mayflower." One in 1526 destroyed the first Spanish settlement in what is now South Carolina, leaving the rebel African slaves with their Native American allies. These Africans became the first permanent inhabitants, other than the Native Americans, on the Atlantic coast of the continent.

The three greatest slave conspiracies were led by Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner. Denmark Vesey was born in Africa in 1767 and for 20 years he was the slave of a slavetrader. He was able to buy his freedom in 1800 and went on to struggle for freedom for all slaves. From 1800 to 1822 he worked as a carpenter in Charleston, S.C. He was a brilliant man, who traveled widely, spoke several languages and was respected by all who knew him, both Black and white.

Enlisting thousands of slaves, not only from Charleston but from as far away as 80 miles, Denmark Vesey organized one of the largest slave conspiracies in history. The exact number involved and their precise plans were never revealed, because the leaders of the conspiracy died with sealed lips.

In 1820, Charleston was a center of African and developing New Afrikan (Black) culture, internationalism and resistance. Many Black people and French "mullattoes" had fled Haiti and other islands, bringing a West Indian character



Denmark Vesey

buy their freedom, and the 1820 Missouri Compromise extended the power of slavery to the West.

This is the historical context in which Vesey and his compatriots built their plan for slaves to liberate themselves. They were familiar with the Haitian revolution and carried on correspondence directly with the leaders of the Black republic, asking for aid for the planned insurrection. Vesey became an advocate not only of Black freedom, but of Black nationhood. For four years, as his plans matured, he organized through the 3000-strong African Methodist Church of Charleston, led by the Bishop Moses Brown. Vesey had a tremendous impact on the minds and hearts of Black people, agitating slaves to take action against their oppressors, bolstering his arguments with quotations from abolitionists, Toussaint L'Overture and the Bible.

"We are free but the white people here won't let us be so; and the only way is to raise up and fight the whites."

In December of 1821, Vesey began to build his organization. He chose a group of lieutenants to help him lead the rebellion. The judges who later sentenced him to death said, "in the selection of his leaders Vesey showed great penetration and sound judgement." Mingo Harth and Peter Poyas were the top leaders. Along with the other leaders they were urban artisans — carpenters, harness-makers, mechanics and blacksmiths. Poyas, a brilliant organizer, was in charge of building the clandestine structure. He decided who should be approached and who shouldn't. Gullah Jack, another leader, was an African-born sorcerer. All were strongly rooted in African culture and greatly respected by the Black people. Vesey was the only free Black man directly implicated in the conspiracy.

Vesey and Poyas built a cell-like organization. Only the leaders knew the details of the conspiracy, so that if a single recruit was arrested, he could not endanger the whole plan. Over 9,000 slaves from the surrounding area were recruited. Weapons were constructed and disguises made. By the middle of June, they had prepared 250 pike heads and bayonets and over 300 daggers. Secret meetings were held. The slave army was to strike at six points in Charleston, taking arsenals, guardhouses, and naval stores. The date was set for the second week in July, when most whites would be vacationing outside the city. At the time of Vesey's revolt, the census showed Charleston's population to be more than 50% Black. The conspiracy developed for weeks and the white officials of Charleston grew increasingly fearful and uneasy, sensing that something was afoot. They tried to bribe and intimidate slaves for information, spreading confusion and apprehension throughout the city. But

with incredible boldness, Vesey and his organization continued to hold meetings and act among white people as if nothing was happening.

In the last week of May they were betrayed when a house servant was recruited and decided to tell his master, Colonel Prioleau.<sup>1</sup> On May 30, Peter Poyas and Mingo Harth were arrested. Peter and Mingo confused the authorities by behaving "with so much composure and coolness" that "the wardens were completely deceived."<sup>2</sup> Both were released on May 31, but spies were detailed to watch their movements.

Vesey was forced to move the date for the plan ahead one month to June, but was unable to communicate this to all his fellow soldiers, some of whom lived far

the congregating of slaves; teaching Black people reading and writing was made a crime; slaves were ordered not to converge in Charleston; and patrol regulations were made more severe. White participation in insurrections was made a capital crime. It was forbidden for any Black people from Mexico, the West Indies or South America to enter the state and Black crew members of any ship entering any harbor of South Carolina were not permitted ashore. In addition, a volunteer military organization was formed in 1823 under the leadership of Robert J. Turnbull, and Bishop Moses Brown and his African Methodist Church were forced to leave the state.

Yet Black people throughout the U.S. were greatly inspired. Black liberation was now even more a reality to struggle for. As Black historian, Henrietta Buckmaster, wrote in her book *Let My People Go*:

"Vesey, standing in court with his arms folded across his chest was a picture of awful scorn. He had given an ideal of liberty to the bondsmen of his race, and only human frailty had entered between it and success.

"The name of Vesey became a part of the language of every South Carolina slave. What he had put in their hearts could not be taken away by legal restrictions. The flames of revolt, supposedly subdued, licked up widely in separate regions while the whole South stirred with a profound restlessness, and fugitives trickling North, roused the hearts of men who were, when all was said and done, the children of a new age of reform." •

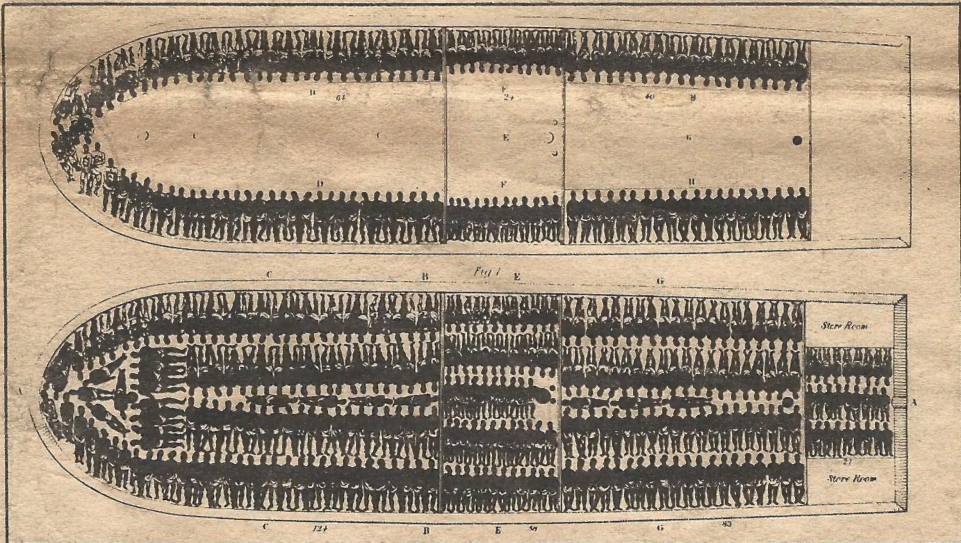


Diagram of Slave Ship

outside the city. Another slave, William, turned informer and more arrests followed. One who was arrested, Charles,<sup>3</sup> agreed to act as a spy.

Then on the eve of the planned rebellion, a slave named Peter turned traitor, and having known some of the plans, named the top leadership. Over 130 Black people, including Vesey, and four white people were arrested. After a show-trial 49 were condemned to die. Twelve of these were pardoned, while 37 Black people were hanged, the executions taking place from June 18 to August 9. The judges and prosecutors labored to obtain confessions and details of the conspiracy, but not a single one of those arrested broke. They were "promised" freedom if they confessed, they were tortured. Peter Poyas told his comrades: "Do not open your lips. Die silent as you shall see me do."

This stance sent fear into the hearts of the slavocracy — it was a nightmare come true! Black slaves were no longer afraid of their oppressors. The white officials and politicians were more afraid of the fact that they could not get "their slaves" to collaborate, than of the conspiracy itself.

When Denmark Vesey and his comrades were hanged, hundreds of white people poured into the streets of Charleston and randomly attacked Black people. During the year following the conspiracy, laws were passed forbidding

<sup>1</sup>Footnote: Colonel Prioleau was a member of the legislature and it was largely through his efforts that legislation was passed against free Black people in 1820 and 1821.

<sup>2</sup>*American Negro Slave Revolts*, H. Aptheker, Pg. 271

<sup>3</sup>Charles, who had aided the state, was hanged July 12.



Toussaint L'Overture

to the city. Charleston was filled with Black ex-slaves from throughout the South who had bought their freedom. Many were skilled in the crafts of the period: made the best ironwork, did the best carpentry, silversmithing, tailoring and they owned small shops. They ran schools that taught reading, science, math and Latin to their children. In 1820 Black people ran a significant part of Charleston's economic life, but Black people had no political or human rights. Slave society was rapidly institutionalizing the system of white supremacy. The threat of New African conspiracy and revolt, along with the reality of the successful Haitian revolution, meant the slave system was tightening up. By the summer of 1818 slaves were coming in large numbers directly from Africa to South Carolina, instead of through the West Indies. By 1820 it was illegal for slaves to

## RAFFLE

DARK BAY HORSE, "STAR,"

MULATTO GIRL, "SARAH,"

Will be Ruffled for

CHANCES AT ONE DOLLAR EACH

JOSEPH JENNINGS.

Ad from Southern Newspaper



# LA Klan Opposed

continued from page 1

Nations. Now established in 38 states, the Aryan Nations includes various Klan organizations, the Nazi NSWPP and National States Rights Party (NSRP), the Posse Comitatus, the Christian Survivalist Association, the Michigan-based Mountain Church, the Pennsylvania-based Church of Jesus Christ and the prison-based Aryan Brotherhood. The Los Angeles crossburning represents the coming together of at least four more groups under the Aryan Nations' banner. The Aryan Nations, according to Nazi Mike Canale, has 350 members in Southern California, although most are not public, and a base of support in the thousands.

## Southern California

The backdrop for the rise of the Klan here is that LA is a strategic center of the military/industrial complex and the war industry. Southern California is filled with Air Force, Army, Navy and Marine bases, defense contractors, and weapons research facilities. It is the home of numerous right wing groups, includes training camps for Cuban and Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries and Los Angeles is a Zionist stronghold. Southern California also sits on the US/Mexican border, is close to Central America and is a region of increasing strategic importance for imperialism to defend and control. LA itself has a population of 2 million Mexicanos and nearly 1 million Black people. LA police kill an average of one person per week, and have

helped create a climate that makes racist violence "acceptable."

LA's Black and Mexican communities have long faced brutal repression at the hands of white racists and the police, from the zoot suit riots of the 1940s to the INS raids, police killings and chokehold deaths of today. At the same time, resistance in these same communities has sparked nationwide attention.

In April, 1970, 10,000 protesters marched through East Los Angeles in the Chicano Moratorium, the largest anti-war demonstration of Mexicano people in the US. Watts in 1965 was the first Black urban rebellion of the 60s, and the LA chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) was one of the most militant and revolutionary in the country. Days after the FBI/police murder of Chicago Panther leader Fred Hampton in 1969, the LAPD raided the LA Panther headquarters with the same murderous intentions. Their 36 hour siege was unsuccessful as Panther members fought back and the Black community rallied to their support.

Today, LA's Black community continues to be the target of intense police and government attack. Drugs are pumped into the community to the point that LA is known as the "PCP capital of the world"; gang warfare is fostered by the police; inner city schools have deteriorated to where a smaller percentage of Black students graduate from high school now than 10 years ago and many who do, read at grade school level.

This is part of the history of genocide and resistance that has given birth to the Center for Black Survival. Part of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, the Center for Black Survival is a grassroots New Afrikan organization fighting the genocidal conditions facing Black people. They have been active in mobilizing community campaigns around the cases of Eula Love (killed by the LAPD), Ron Settles (hung by the Signal Hill police) and Geronimo Pratt (BPP leader framed and serving life in San Quentin prison).

The New Afrikan Center for Black Survival currently carries on tutorial, food co-op, self-defense and youth programs and ongoing political education. Within the schools and in their community, they have an active campaign against racist terror that asserts Black people's right to self-defense and the leadership of the Black Nation in the 120 year fight against the Klan. They are leading the current mobilization against the Klan. In a call to demonstrate following the December 3 crossburning, they said:

"We must remember that the Klan and other white terrorist groups played a major role in forcing Black people off the land in the South, the land that we worked, developed, lived on and helped mold our national character (i.e., Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama). The Klan, along with other forces of imperialism, forced us from our land and aided in our subjugation—like the Palestinian people were forced from their land and had it taken from them by the Zionist Israelis. We have a right to self-defense, self-determination, land and nationhood."

## Anti-Klan Movement Builds

The Center for Black Survival and JBAKC have co-sponsored two anti-Klan demonstrations since the December 3 crossburning. On December 6, a picket outside the District Attorney's office charged the DA and the police with complicity with the KKK. At the Klan's first court date on December 20 at 8:00 a.m., 70 demonstrators picketed the County Jail/Municipal Court, chanting, "The Black Nation will be free, down with white supremacy," and "KKK terror in the night, self-defense is the Black Nation's right."

A new stage for anti-Klan work has  
See **LA Klan Opposed**, page 13



Cyclops Silva &amp; Nazi Canale pose for press

## Zionism Is Racism

What Is the JDL?

Why Is It Attacking the Anti-Klan Movement?



JDL heckles anti-Klan protestors

The Jewish Defense League poses as a defender of Jewish people against anti-semitism and claims to oppose the Klan. In reality, nothing could be farther from the truth. The JDL is a rightwing, white supremacist paramilitary organization. They came to the October anti-Klan demonstration in Sunland not to oppose the Klan but to try and break up the picket line. When they were fought off they hurled racist insults at Black demonstrators, calling them "n—s" and "monkeys," called the women "whores" and "bitches" and shouted "Grenada is ours, Nicaragua and El Salvador will be ours too!" The next week they joined with CARP (the Moonies) and ROTC students at a local university to disrupt a US Out of Grenada rally. One of their banners read: "Victory to the Marines in Grenada."

The JDL's action are consistent with their history and that of the Zionist movement. "Zionism is Racism" is a slogan not only of the Arab world but of anti-imperialist people everywhere. The JDL is an ardent supporter of the Zionist state of Israel, which is based on the theft and continued occupation of Palestinian land, and genocide against the Palestinian people. Israel is US imperialism's main ally in the Middle East, one of the main arms suppliers to right wing regimes such as El Salvador and Zaire (the Congo), and one of the only countries that trades with apartheid South Africa. It is a militaristic settler state currently at war with the Lebanese as well as the Palestinian people.

The JDL is led by Meir Kahane, who calls for the elimination of all Arabs from "Greater Israel" and the annexation of the West Bank. In this country, the JDL physi-

cally attacks Palestinians; at one demonstration they dragged a Palestinian flag in the dirt and burned it. In New York they threatened an African professor who supported the PLO and included Zionism in a course on racism. The JDL's racism is also directed against Black people in this country. In Los Angeles they patrol the predominantly Jewish Fairfax neighborhood with German Shepherd dogs to protect residents from suspicious (read Black) people. When Jesse Jackson announced his presidential candidacy, West Coast JDL leader Irv Rubin and others formed "Jews Against Jackson" to fan anti-Black and anti-Arab reaction. They are organizing a racist base among Jewish people just as the Klan is purporting to represent Christians. Their attacks on New Afrikan and anti-Klan demonstrators is an ominous step toward building gangs of rightwing thugs to attack revolutionary groups and individuals.

The Aryan Nations and the Klan are both virulently anti-semitic. JBAKC opposes anti-semitism and all forms of anti-Jewish bigotry. But the JDL is not fighting anti-semitism. They are trying to convince people that Jewish and Zionist are the same thing, and using the issue of anti-semitism to build their own reactionary movement. JBAKC opposes the JDL because we support the Black struggle here, and because we support the struggle of the Palestinian people to win their liberation. Zionism is racism, a pro-imperialist ideology that attacks all national liberation struggles. An anti-Klan movement must also be an anti-Zionist movement.

## Nazis Meet in Public School

In November, 1983, suburban Washington, D.C. was the scene of a confrontation between Nazis, Klan, police and anti-white supremacist demonstrators. Despite scare tactics employed by police to intimidate people from demonstrating, close to 150 people came out in the cold and rain on the night of Nov. 5 to oppose a Nazi and Klan "white pride" meeting at Yorktown High School in Arlington, Virginia.

Demonstrators were met with scores of cops in riot gear, helicopters flying overhead with searchlights, and were forced into a confined area in the school parking lot. As the Nazi and Klan members scurried into the school building, protected by a wall of police, angry demonstrators pelted them with rocks, bottles and eggs. When the Nazis and Klan were safe inside the school, the police moved on the still protesting crowd using plainclothes police to make arrests. Three demonstrators were arrested, including two members of JBAKC.

The "white pride" meeting was called by the Nazi Party ("New Order") to kick off an organizing drive among local youth. Similar to numerous Klan rallies around the country in the past year, the Nazis want to use public meetings and constitutional arguments about free speech and assembly to gain legitimacy. In the wealthy, overwhelmingly white suburban Washington neighborhood of Arlington where the meeting took place (2 miles from the Nazi's national headquarters), they did not expect active opposition.

Working with other groups in the D.C. area, JBAKC called for a demonstration to mobilize the anti-Nazi sentiment of Yorktown High students and area

residents. During the weeks preceding Nov. 5, the police began an offensive through the media to portray the anti-Nazi forces as violent and dangerous in order to discourage people from demonstrating. To disrupt organizing, the police arrested two women for leafleting at the high school and charged them with trespassing. Harassment and undercover surveillance culminated with the violent attack on the demonstration and the arrest of Julie Nalibov, a leader and spokesperson of JBAKC, on felony riot and obstruction of justice charges. Julie was also one of the women arrested previously for trespassing.

The felony was later reduced to a misdemeanor "inciting to riot." A second member of JBAKC, charged with obstruction of justice and the other woman charged with trespassing both received one year probation.

Similar methods have been used by police and FBI to attack the anti-Klan movement around the country. This has included manipulation of the media, surveillance, a highly militarized police presence at rallies, and the arrest of demonstration leaders. The undercover officers in Arlington who arrested the two JBAKC members work directly with D.C. police and the FBI.

Faced with militant opposition, the Nazis have not yet publicly followed through with their announced plans to hold monthly meetings in local schools. JBAKC has initiated a petition drive and ongoing work in Arlington County to further raise opposition to Nazi organizing there, and to fight the outstanding charges against Julie. For more information on how you can help, contact the D.C. JBAKC Chapter.



Lecture Hall, Yorktown High, Arlington, Virginia. Nov. 5, 1983.



# THE BLACK NATION IN STRUGGLE

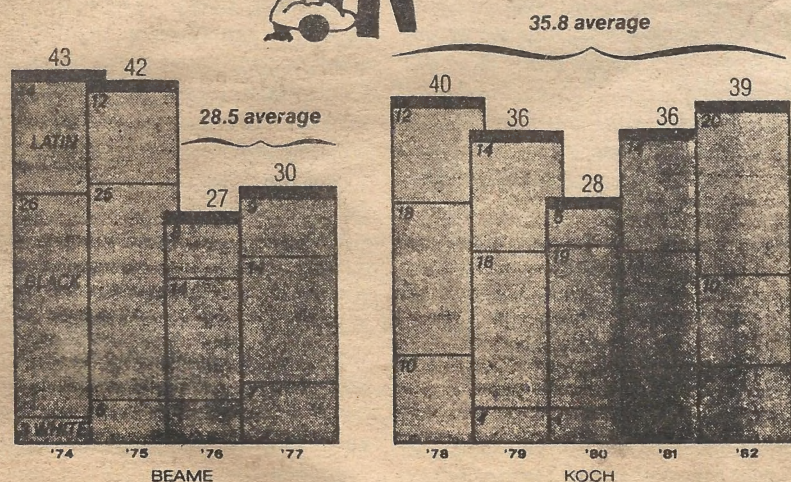
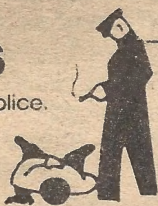
## Marion Prison: Reign of Terror

The federal prison at Marion, Illinois, the new maximum security "Alcatraz," has been on 24 hour lockdown since October 27, 1983. Lawyers were admitted to the prison only after obtaining a court order November 12. They found that every one of the prison's 300-400 inmates had been taken from their cells and most beaten by special goon squads brought in from other prisons. Inmates were taunted with racist names, tortured and beaten by helmeted guards in jump suits with their names stencilled out and "A Team" stencilled on their helmets. The violence, which continues today, is supposedly in retaliation for the killings of two guards

by the white supremacist Aryan Brotherhood, a neo-Nazi prison gang which is also responsible for the murders of two Black prisoners. It is also part of a general heightening of violent repression in US prisons. The prisoners and their lawyers had to fight not only the Marion administration but a general press "whiteout" which is refusing to report on gestapo-like conditions at Marion, Attica, and other prisons. For more information or to find out what you can do contact: the Marion Prisoners Rights Project, People's Law Office, 343 S. Dearborne, Chicago, IL 60604.

## DEATHS

Shooting Homicides by NYC Police.



## State of the Black Nation

Despite what Reagan's new Civil Rights Commission and other apologists for the system say, the economic situation for the Black Nation is getting worse, not better. One aspect of being an oppressed nation is that all Black people share a common economic relationship to the system of imperialism. Recent figures released by the National Urban League, a Black civil rights organization, illustrate this oppression.

- Unemployment for Black people reached 20.6% in 1982. In 1983 it was 17.8%, double the overall rate of 8.1%. For Black teenagers it is 42.7%, compared to 18.3% for white teenagers. (And these are the official figures, which are commonly acknowledged to be underestimates.)
- Median family income for Black people in 1982 was \$13,598 — 55% of the white family median of \$24,593. This is the biggest gap since the 1960s. But income is only part of the picture. Wealth of white households in the last census was 4 times their income, while for Black families it was 2.5 times their income. This simply means that even when Black families have

jobs, that's about all they have. Houses represent 46% of the wealth of Black people but only 32% for white people; not because Black homes are palaces, but because there is less money left over. 7% of Black wealth is invested in stocks and bonds; while for white people the figure is 28%.

- The infant mortality rate for Black children is 91% higher than the rate for white children (21.8 deaths per 1,000/11.4 per 1,000). This is a dramatic increase over the 1960s, when the gap was 61%.
- The number of Black farmers has dropped from 11 million (in 1920) to 50,000 today.

In real terms this means that a child in a Black family is likely to have lost a baby brother, sister or cousin. In Chicago, a Black father or mother has a fifty-fifty chance of finding a job and the teenage brother or sister can forget it. And what this child has to look forward to, until the Black Nation is liberated and imperialism defeated, is more of the same.



## Alabama's Todd Road Fight

The Todd Road Fight, as it is called in Alabama, in which a Black family defended their home against a police attack, has become a symbol of resistance and self-defense in the Deep South, the National Territory of the Black Nation.

On February 27, 1983, members of the Taylor family from as far away as Michigan were gathered in a small house on Todd Road near Montgomery, to mourn the death of Annie Bell Taylor. Christopher Taylor, 21, was outside in the yard when two white men pulled up in a car and said they wanted to talk to him. They drew guns and he ran into the house yelling that he was being chased by white men with guns.

Seconds later Eddie Spivey and Les Brown, two plainclothes Montgomery police, broke into the front door of the house with guns drawn. Claiming later that they wanted Christopher for "questioning," they didn't identify themselves as police. They clearly weren't ready to find a Black family inside prepared to defend themselves.

They were overpowered, disarmed and held. In the struggle Spivey was cut on the throat, face and hands and later required 72 stitches. When more police came, Brown ran and was shot twice as he jumped from the porch. The arriving police then surrounded the house and arrested members of the Taylor family. They were beaten at police headquarters and charged with kidnapping, assault and attempted murder — for defending their own home.

The Taylor's legal defense is that they had absolutely no way of knowing that the

to trial charged with attempted murder, in the longest and most bitterly contested political trial in recent Alabama history. The courtroom was packed every day, with Black people sitting on one side, and police and their supporters on the other.

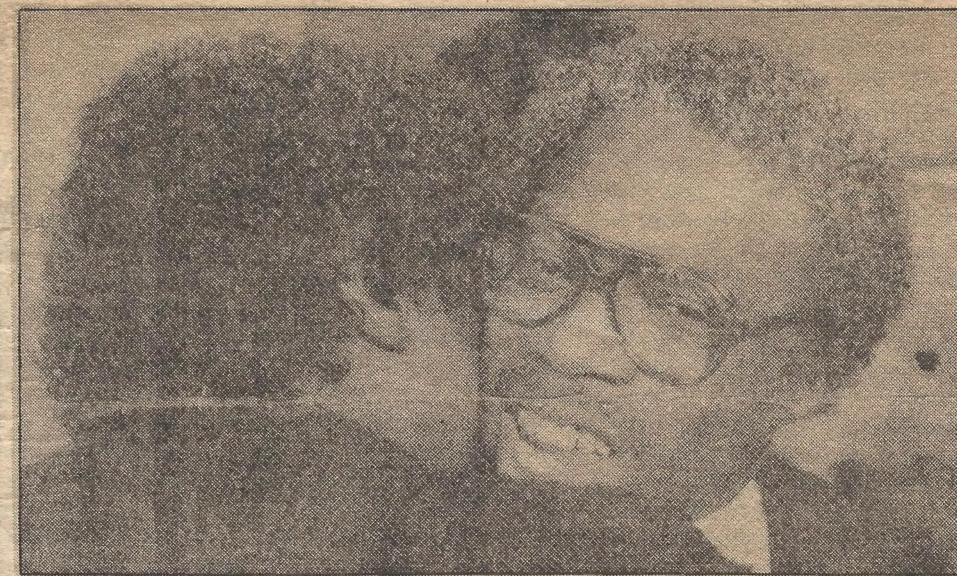
The case exposed many instances of police cover-up. "In all my years here I've never seen a case like this one in terms of the total police effort to manufacture, suppress and distort evidence, and to silence and intimidate witnesses," said Taylor family attorney Solomon Seay, Jr.

The judge granted Seay's motion to throw out the statements extracted by police torture and beatings. Elbert Taylor had been beaten with a telephone receiver, and told to run so that he could be shot escaping. Larry Hill had signed a statement after hearing the screams of family members from other rooms at police headquarters.

It also emerged that police had erased a telephone tape that would show that at least one member of the Taylor family, when their home was invaded, had called police. This would prove that Spivey and Brown had not identified themselves.

Police had also "lost" Brown's service revolver, which they claim had been used by the Taylors to shoot Brown. In fact, the Taylors say, Brown was shot accidentally by the other police and Brown's gun was deliberately lost because it would show it hadn't been fired.

In his summation to the jury, defense attorney Solomon Seay, Jr., said that a guilty verdict would be a revival of the Dred Scott decision of the 1850's, in



Worrie Taylor & supporter.

armed racists who kicked in their door were police. The larger political issue, often unspoken in this case, is the right of all Black people to defend themselves against racist attacks by any means necessary from the police or the Klan.

The Black community of Montgomery rallied to support the Taylors, holding church meetings to raise money to defend Worrie Taylor, 49, and Elbert Taylor, 51, of Warren, Ohio; and William James Taylor, Sr., 51, and Larry Gene Hill, 28, of Pontiac, Michigan.

The Todd Road Fight became a major political issue in Montgomery. The Police Chief and the Mayor said that Spivey and Brown had been "attacked and tortured in the manner of animals." Black city officials defended the Taylors and even called for federal troops to "defend" the Black community after Black people were killed in three other clashes with local police.

In November, 1983, Worrie Taylor went

which a US judge ruled that Black people had no rights that white people were bound to respect.

After 20 hours of deliberation, the jury of eight white and four Black people was unable to agree on a verdict and the judge declared a mistrial. Because of the support for the Taylors in the Black community, the state was not eager to try the case again and they made a deal. Worrie Taylor and the three others charged agreed to pay an unstated restitution in exchange for suspended sentences on lesser charges.

In the Todd Road Fight and the subsequent trial, the Taylor family fought for Black people's right to self-defense. The community supported their stand. In his closing statement, the prosecutor asked rhetorically: "If you break into my home I will kill you — is this the message you want to send to the world?"

150 Black people in the courtroom answered: "Yeah." •



# Resisting the Grand Jury

by Silvia Baraldini

Federal Grand Juries investigating the Puerto Rican and New Afrikan (Black) national liberation movements are being used more and more as arms of the FBI. The Grand Juries give a "legal" appearance to the Terrorist Task Force's counterinsurgency operations, disguising McCarthy-style political inquisitions as criminal investigations. This is in keeping with the new FBI guidelines which call for prosecuting revolutionary organizations under "racketeering" laws.

Since 1978, more than 20 Puerto Ricans and Mexicans have been jailed for refusing to collaborate with a Grand Jury investigating the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. 11 New Afrikans and white anti-imperialists have

cans on the question of the principle of non-collaboration.

*Collaboration with the Grand Jury would mean that I recognize that this government has a legitimate interest in Puerto Rico, instead of being its colonizer. Collaboration with the Grand Jury would mean ignoring the fact that the United States is breaking international law by continuing to disregard United Nations resolution 1540, demanding the end of colonialism. Collaboration with the Grand Jury would mean that I recognize the right of this government to criminalize those who are fighting for independence and socialism, and it would mean that I recognize the right of this government to jail and*

The government's excuse for our prosecution was that a carbon copy of an FALN communique was found in our apartment. Shelley has been a member of the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism for a number of years. The organization regularly receives these communiques in the mail, and reprints and distributes them as part of an overall program of educating and organizing North Americans to solidarity.

Another tactic of the government centered on discrediting both the independence movement and the anti-imperialist movement.

Ridiculing UN resolutions that condone the use of armed struggle to defeat colonialism, the state portrayed the captured Puerto Rican Prisoners of War as criminals. Why? Because what must be hidden from our consciousness is the reality of Puerto Rico as a militarily occupied nation. *In 1898 Puerto Rico was an autonomous nation, a free nation, and it was militarily invaded by the United States government; not under any pretense of law but under arms; violently. Since 1898, for the last 85 years, the United States Government controlled every facet of the lives of Puerto Rican people. They were forced to become US citizens during World War I so they could be drafted. The US controlled the economy of the island and millions of Puerto Rican people were forced out of their homes, off their farms to make way for US corporations to take over the land and make millions of dollars of profit. Many had to migrate to this country in order to survive.*

Colonial elections were manipulated to "prove" that the majority of Puerto Ricans support statehood or commonwealth status; the independence movement was repressed with violence, from the massacre of Ponce in the 1930s, to the 1978 murder of two independentistas at Cerro Maravilla that has become a major political scandal in Puerto Rico today. This is the real relationship between the government of the United States and Puerto Rico.

Nelson Canales, a Puerto Rican intellectual who testified at our trial, answered the slander of the government in this manner: "The majority of Puerto Rican people, just as the majority of any people, prefer freedom. What happens is similar to what happens in a jail. The majority of the inmates, if not all of them, want to be free. What does not allow them to be free are the guards who are armed on the towers. If the tower guards were removed, all the prisoners would jump the fence. If the FBI were eliminated in Puerto

Rico, the armed forces of the United States, the Federal court of the United States and the laws that oppress the Puerto Rican people, I have no doubt that the greatest majority of the Puerto Rican people would be in favor of independence."

The other target in our trial was the North American anti-imperialist movement. Both Shelley and I have been political activists and organizers for almost 20 years. We belong to May 19th Communist Organization, named for Ho Chi Minh and Malcolm X, both of whose birthdays are May 19th, and our lives are defined by our commitment to revolution. *Our commitment to a just society, our resolve to change the current state of affairs is what has made the FBI call our movement insidious. It is our resolve and our determination to struggle for socialism inside this country that prompts the government to imprison us and to charge us with crimes.*

Imperialism fosters the myth that this is a democratic society where oppressed and exploited people have "rights" and where reforms can be peacefully won. May 19th Communist Organization is trying to build a revolutionary movement that shatters that illusion, and challenges the system's strategy to win the "hearts and minds" of white people. We fully support the national liberation struggles and the development of armed clandestine organization — the Black Liberation Army, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional, the Armed Resistance Unit, the United Freedom Front — which offer critical leadership in building a politics of protracted people's war in the oppressed nations and class war for socialism in the white oppressor nation.

Our response to the counterinsurgency must be unwavering resistance. At its heart is the principle of non-collaboration. *Our position of non-collaboration is rooted in the understanding of the United States as an imperialist power. It is also a statement of our collective conscience that demands clearcut resistance to injustice.*

*The government, of course, has the power to enforce its position. They control the courts. They control the FBI. They control all other parts of the apparatus of law. Our power comes from clear exposition and implementation of our principles. If we had accepted the narrow definition of this case, you, the jury, would never find out why we refused to testify or what is the content of the independence struggle in Puerto Rico, or why we, as North Americans, support it.*

See Grand Jury, page 13



gone to jail rather than collaborate with a Grand Jury investigating the New Afrikan Independence Movement. The government has escalated its attack by charging those who refuse to talk with criminal contempt (rather than civil contempt), making them liable to potentially unlimited jail terms. The government has also broadened its attacks to include North American communists and supporters of the national liberation movements. 9 Puerto Rican, Mexican and North Americans have been tried and convicted under this new strategy.

Still, the resistance to the Grand Juries and the commitment to the principle of non-collaboration grows. A white anti-imperialist and health worker from Texas, Pam Fadem, was subpoenaed to the Puerto Rico Grand Jury on February 16, 1984. Larry Mack, a New Afrikan activist, is currently in jail in New York City for refusing to collaborate.

Silvia Baraldini is a member of May 19th Communist Organization recently convicted in the RICO "racketeering" trial of the New Afrikan Independence Movement following the Brink's expropriation. She is also a Grand Jury resister, the only one who has been subpoenaed to and resisted both the New Afrikan and Puerto Rican Grand Juries. In this article she offers an overview and analysis of the struggle against the Grand Juries today. The sections in italics are from her statements to the jury during her trial.

On the 26th of every month, from 6 to 8 pm, there is a demonstration and candlelight vigil to support Grand Jury resisters in New York City at the Metropolitan Correctional Center, 150 Park Row. Come! Support the stance of non-collaboration!

On January 21, 1984, a Federal Grand Jury in Brooklyn, New York, found Shelley Miller and me guilty of "serious criminal contempt" because we refused to collaborate with an inquisition into the Puerto Rican Independence Movement; in particular, into the *Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional* (FALN), one of the armed clandestine organizations that are part of the independence movement. From the beginning we rejected the government's contention that we were disobeying a lawful order or that the "investigation" was legitimate. Our only crime has been to uphold the right of our movement to support the independence of Puerto Rico, and to set an example for all North Ameri-

repress revolutionaries inside this country.

Our trial was the fourth time that the US government used the federal statute of criminal contempt to jail members and supporters of the independence movement. It was the first time that North American anti-imperialists were charged. The use of criminal contempt charges is part of an overall escalation of imperialism's counterinsurgency methods that includes the new FBI guidelines, and the formation of the Terrorist Task Force within the FBI, as well as the heightened use of Grand Juries to intern members of revolutionary movements.

The Grand Juries have been historically used by the government to give a "lawful" cover to attacks on resistance movements. Anyone who refuses to talk to the FBI can be subpoenaed. The state rewards traitors who testify in front of Grand Juries, and perpetrates the fiction that it is common citizens, not the state, who decide the direction of the investigations. Shelley called a Grand Jury subpoena "a summons to the FBI."

Grand Juries have been used to attack the Black Liberation struggle, Native American movement, the Communist Party, Weatherman, the Catholic Left and the women's movement. Since 1936, numerous Grand Juries have focussed on the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. Since 1976 the aim of these Grand Juries has been to crush the revolutionary leadership and the armed struggle in particular.

Heightened repression is crucial for the US today, when imperialism is confronted with wars of liberation in Central America, the Middle East and Southern Africa; with a massive anti-nuclear movement in Europe that is beginning to target NATO; with increasing anti-war opposition at home; and with developing New Afrikan (Black) and Puerto Rican liberation struggles. The US confronts an increasingly mass based independence movement in its sole direct colony, Puerto Rico — a movement committed to the mobilization of the whole people into a protracted struggle for power on the island and the mainland as well.

The manipulation of laws and the "breach of commonly accepted civil liberties" to make it easier "for the authorities to make arrests, acquire evidence, try defendants and impose sentences" were discussed in 1978 during a secret conference of international security experts, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, aimed at heightening repression against the independence movement.

## Revolutionaries Get 40 Years



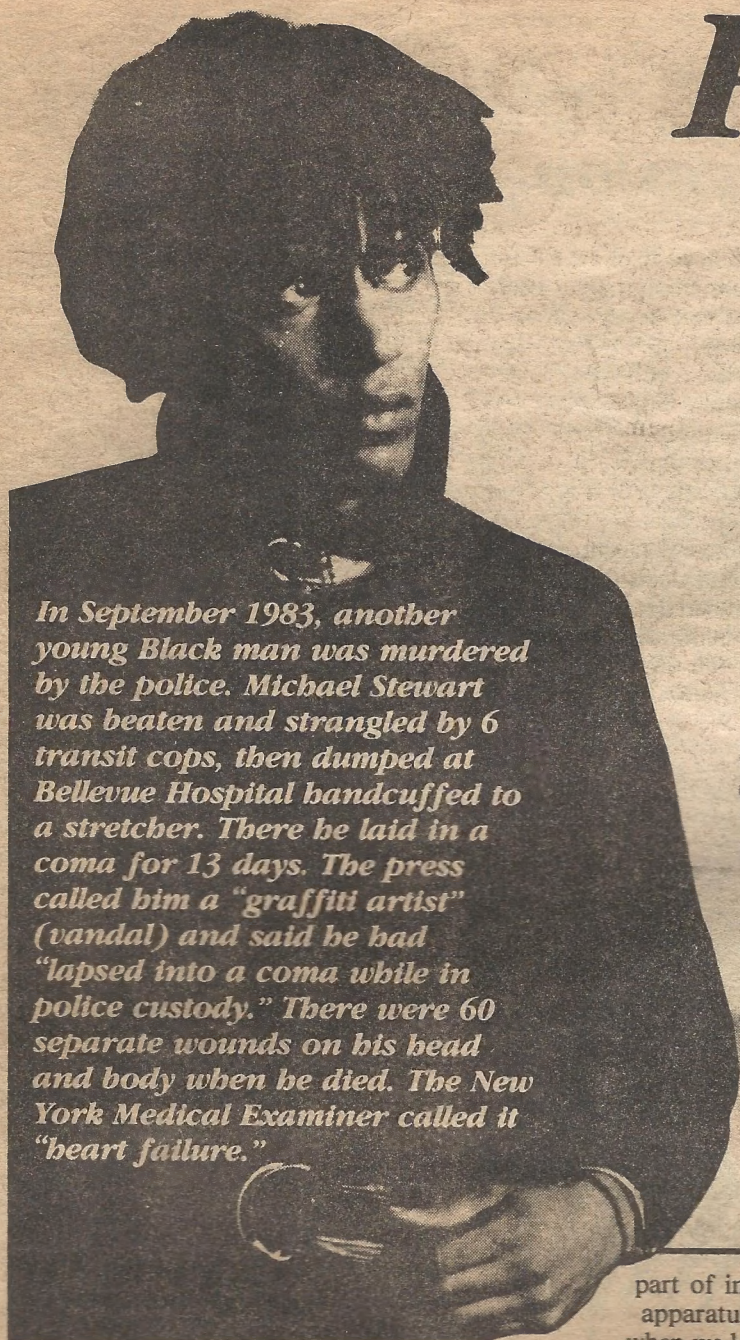
Silvia Baraldini, Chui Ferguson-El, Sekou Odinga, Bilal Sunni-Ali

On February 16, 1984, Sekou Odinga and Silvia Baraldini were each sentenced to forty years in prison in the RICO trial, the first major political conspiracy trial of the 1980s. Sekou is a New Afrikan freedom fighter, a soldier in the underground Black Liberation Army captured shortly after the attempted Brink's expropriation in 1981. Silvia is a member of the May 19th Communist Organization and a leader in the public anti-imperialist movement. Both were convicted of "racketeering" in connection with revolutionary actions, including the 1979 liberation of Black revolutionary Assata Shakur (s/n Joanne Chesimard) from prison in 1979. The first test of the new FBI guidelines, RICO is part of the government's strategy to deal with revolutionary movements under criminal racketeering laws, and to try and link the public and underground movements in conspiracy cases. Sekou's stance that he was a freedom fighter and prisoner-of-war, and Silvia's that she was a political prisoner, continually raised the issue of New Afrika and defeated the government's attempt to contend that this was a criminal, rather than a political, trial. Other supporters of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, Chui Ferguson and Jamal Josephs, were sentenced to 12 years in prison. Bilal Sunni-Ali and Iliana Robinson were acquitted of all charges.



# Police Murder & Coverup

## The Case of Michael Stewart



*In September 1983, another young Black man was murdered by the police. Michael Stewart was beaten and strangled by 6 transit cops, then dumped at Bellevue Hospital handcuffed to a stretcher. There he laid in a coma for 13 days. The press called him a "graffiti artist" (vandal) and said he had "lapsed into a coma while in police custody." There were 60 separate wounds on his head and body when he died. The New York Medical Examiner called it "heart failure."*



Michael Stewart was one of 40 people, most of them Black or Puerto Rican, murdered by New York City cops last year, and one of the hundreds murdered in every major city in the U.S. In the last 5 years, the police have murdered, yet no where in the U.S. is there a cop in prison for murder -- and there never has been.

Police violence is not just "excess" or "racism" on the part of law enforcement. Violence and racist terror are an integral part of Amerikkkan law enforcement because the law is colonialism, enforced by military might. The colonial relationship between the system of imperialism and the Black (New Afrikan) Nation inside this country is sharply exposed by looking at the historical role of the police in relation to all Black people.

From the "Patty Rollers" (slave catchers, who were this country's first cops); to the cops who helped the Klan brutalize Freedom Riders and other civil rights activists; to the cops who murdered Black Panther Fred Hampton in his sleep; to the cops who killed Brooklyn business man Arthur Miller in a dispute over a parking ticket; to the cops in Miami who executed Arthur McDuffy for running a red light; to the cops who gunned down New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata and killed him when he was unarmed; the job of the police is and always has been, to maintain by force the subjugation of the whole Black nation. That the attacks are so violent and brutal and yet seem random and arbitrary serves all the more to give them the character of terrorism, making their threat an ever present reality in Third World communities, and at the same time mask their true nature. For Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Native American and other Third World people 'staying out of trouble' offers no protection from killer cops -- because the cops are not about "stopping trouble" here any more than the Marines are about 'stabilizing' the situation in Grenada.

Whether it is the Marines in Lebanon, NATO in the Congo, the U.S. Navy in Puerto Rico, or the 82nd Airborne in Grenada -- colonialism, neo-colonialism and the Amerikkkan way have always been imposed by force of arms. The police are

part of imperialism's military apparatus. This is easy to see when we look at South African cops in Soweto, or Israeli cops on the West Bank, where it is clear that their only role is to maintain the domination and control of the Azanian and Palestinian people through military might and terror. Just as the military are the world, so the police are a domestic army, occupying and maintaining control in Third World communities here.

On the night of September 15, 1983, Robert Rodriguez, an auxiliary (volunteer) uniformed patrolman in the Lower East Side community, was playing chess at Blimpie's restaurant at 14th St and First Ave. He saw a cop push a young man in handcuffs up the stairs from the subway station across the street. The cop beat the man to the ground with his nightstick. Then two more cops drove up in a police "medical" van. They picked the man up, spun him around, threw him against the wall and beat him to the sidewalk again.

According to Rodriguez it was "a miracle" that the victim was able to walk to the van "He was proud and held his head high with honor," said Rodriguez later in a TV interview.

It was the last time Michael was seen truly alive by any but his killers. It was 2:50 a.m.

Who was Michael Stewart, whose murder was to become such an issue in New York? A proud, talented young Black man who lived with his parents in Brooklyn, wore his hair in "dreads", (Rastafarian style braids), and was part of the Lower East Side's New Wave art scene. The paper called him a "graffiti artist" as if he were a vandal; in fact he was not an accomplished but a developing artist who worked with many different materials. He was also a fashion model, a telephone worker, a part-time DJ and restaurant worker. He sometimes hung out at the Pyramid Club on Avenue A where he had many friends.

The night he was murdered he left the Pyramid and shared a cab with a friend to the subway station. He was not stoned and hadn't had more than one or two drinks. He was on his way home to Brooklyn. The police later claimed he had a Magic Marker and wrote "RAS" on the subway wall.

New York's Union Square is at 14th St. and Park Ave. At 3:00 a.m. it is dark and

lonely. The District 4 Transit Police station is in the subway underneath the park, but Michael Stewart never made it there. He was killed in the parking lot in the back of the "medical" van by John Kostick (TP badge #2688) Henry Boerner (#1245), Anthony Piscola (#3784) and as many as three other cops who are as yet unnamed. While he was handcuffed so savagely that there were still 60 separate wounds on his body when he died two weeks later. Then he was strangled with a nightstick for 20 to 30 seconds, according to doctors, until a hemorrhage at the base of his brain severed his spinal cord.

At 3:30 a.m. he was admitted to Bellevue Hospital, 15 blocks away, in a coma from which he never awoke. He was brought in shackled to a stretcher with four separate sets of handcuffs, his feet bound with medical tape. The police refused to unlock the handcuffs so they had to be cut off; and they also refused to turn over his I.D. Michael was beaten so badly that he was admitted as an "unidentified white male." The admissions form describes "battle signs and obvious head trauma."

There were no vital signs. Blood pressure and pulse were zero. CPR was administered and he was taken to Intensive Care, resuscitated but still unconscious. Meanwhile a Transit Police

wait in the hall while "certain" phone calls were made. Then Dr. Wolfe, who has practiced for 31 years in New York City, was told he had to physically produce his license to practice medicine before he could see his patient. Only after going to get his framed certificate from his office wall, was Dr. Wolf allowed to see his patient. At 8:30 a.m. he told the Stewarts massively damaged, that there was little hope of survival, and no hope of recovery. Though he was to live two more weeks, Michael had already been murdered.

The press faithfully reported all the lies of the Transit Police press agent, Jerry Silverfarb, even adding a few of their own. Not only the scandal-sheet *Post* but even the *New York Times* reported that Michael had been so high on cocaine that he had attacked police wildly, then had "lapsed into a coma" in the emergency room. The *Times* said that he had been arrested "spray painting" and had been charged with possession of "two packets of cocaine." In fact, Michael was never charged with possession of cocaine or spray paint, but the press persisted. The "graffiti artist" phrase was used so often and so consistently that it gave the impression Michael had personally scrawled and painted every subway car in New York; and the "lapsed into a coma"

**Only after going to get his framed certificate from his office wall, was Dr. Wolf allowed to see his patient.**

Captain arrived and told the officers and nurses on the scene: "Keep your mouths shut."

Millard Stewart, Michael's father, is a retired transit worker and his wife, Carrie, is a retired substitute schoolteacher. At 5:30 a.m. two uniformed transit police came to their door and told them their son was in the hospital in critical condition. When asked, they said they didn't know what had happened to him. At Bellevue the Stewarts were told that although Michael was unconscious there was no sign of brain damage. Suspicious, they called a private internist, Dr. Robert Wolf, from Mt. Sinai Hospital, who has consulted in several civil rights cases.

When Dr. Wolf arrived at Bellevue he was not allowed to see his patient or his charts. He was not even allowed to see the Chief Resident, Dr. Cole. He was made to

angle never died, even when the police changed their story to say he had "fallen down the steps." Not only the straight press but the *Guardian*, the *Village Voice*, the *East Village Eye* continued to say Michael had "lapsed" into a coma. It was a new form of murder, the first time someone had been lapsed to death.

Interestingly, the police never charged Michael with a serious crime, even though they were later to claim they had to kill him to subdue him. He was charged with misdemeanors only: resisting arrest, attempted escape, possession of a marijuana stub. The low charges caused the attorneys for the Stewart family to suspect that the District Attorney Robert Morgenthau, was mainly interested in low-keying the case.



# Grenada

## The Revolutionary Threat. The US Invasion.

"That secret report [to the U.S. State Department] made this point: that the Grenada revolution is in one sense even worse—I'm using their language—than the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions because the leadership of Grenada speak English, and therefore can communicate directly with the people of the United States.

But I want to tell you what that same report said that also made us very dangerous. That is the people of Grenada and the leadership of Grenada are predominantly Black—we have 95 percent of predominantly African origin in our country—then we can have a dangerous appeal to 30 million Black people in the United States."

—Maurice Bishop  
Hunter College, June, 1983

On October 25, 1983, four days after the murder of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, the U.S. launched a 6000-man invasion of the sovereign nation of Grenada.

Maurice Bishop's statement sums up the most compelling reasons for the U.S. invasion — the revolutionary spirit, character and impact of the Grenadian revolution. At the same time, the invasion of Grenada was only one part of an overall strategy to destabilize and destroy the liberation movements in El Salvador and Guatemala, and the revolutionary government in Nicaragua. The invasion of Grenada violated every human rights treaty and non-aggression pact signed by the U.S. and was the most blatant attack on the sovereignty of an independent nation since the Vietnam war.

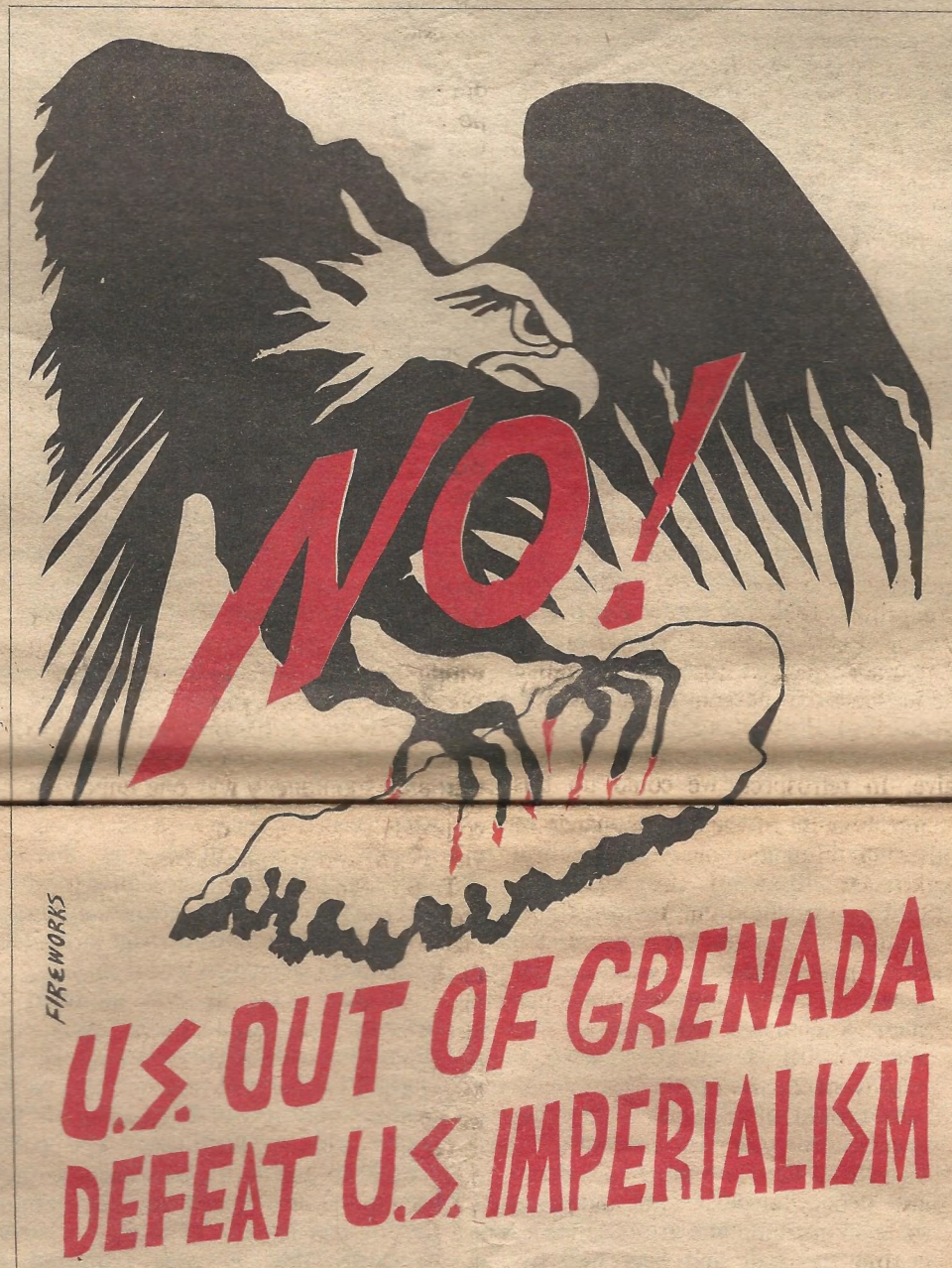
Revolutionary Grenada was a beacon of hope to oppressed people around the world, proving that even a tiny nation, free of U.S. domination, can make dramatic advances in health care, education, industry and agriculture by beginning to build socialism. Grenada's example was a threat to U.S. domination all through the region; this is why today there are more than 300 U.S. military police and "psy-war" (psychological warfare) specialists in Grenada attempting to wipe out the consciousness of the people.

The changes that took place in Grenada since the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Gairy dictatorship shed light on why the U.S. government is so bent on reversing the Grenadian revolution. When they took power, the New Jewel Movement (NJM) inherited an economy that had been ravaged first by British colonialism and then by the corrupt and repressive Gairy regime. Unemployment at the time of the revolution in 1979, was 49%; by 1982, it had been reduced to 14.2%. State investment doubled each year from 1979 to 1982. Through workers councils, and youth and women's organizations, people throughout the island were actively taking up the problems and issues that faced the nation. Because in Bishop's words: "education to us is liberation," a literacy campaign was mounted that reduced the illiteracy rate from 49% to 2%. Free health care was made available; the number of doctors on the island was doubled and the number of dental clinics rose from one to seven. These kinds of programs were laying the basis for a socialist economy by developing Grenada's productive capacity and mobilizing the resources of the Grenadian people. In 1982, the Grenadian economy grew by 5.2%; that year Grenada and Nicaragua were the only countries in the western hemisphere that experienced economic growth.

Grenada's independence and the building of socialism among African people in the Caribbean has been an example to Black people within the U.S. Grenada is the first English-speaking Black nation in this hemisphere to be able to control its own land and resources, free of colonial domination, and begin to

build an economic, social and political system to meet the needs of its people. Maurice Bishop was an outspoken supporter of the Black Liberation Movement in the U.S. Grenada, a free, socialist, African nation stood as a shining example that self-determination, land and independence are fundamental to the ability of African people to win human rights and overthrow centuries of colonial domination in Africa, the Caribbean and inside the U.S. Grenada also proved that any nation fighting U.S. imperialism and building socialism must be a nation armed — politically and militarily — to win liberation, defend its victory and defeat

The invasion has been justified on the basis of anti-communism and white supremacy and bolstered with lies. A massive government disinformation campaign was willingly carried out by the media which faithfully reported every one of the Pentagon's lies even as they screamed about censorship. The disinformation campaign stoked the fires of anti-communism by spreading lies about Cuba and depicting the internal struggle in Grenada prior to the invasion as communist excesses. It reinforced the racist view that Black people do not have the right or even the desire to govern themselves, and it relied upon the most



Poster from Fireworks, San Francisco

counterinsurgency. Revolutionary Grenada posed a concrete alternative to underdevelopment and neocolonialism for oppressed peoples in the Caribbean and throughout the world. And Grenada had a particular ability to speak to Black (New Afrikan) people in this country.

Since the Vietnam war, in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua — and until October 25, Grenada — national liberation movements have been successful. These nations have joined other socialist nations in beginning to build societies based on human rights, using their productive capacities for the good of the people rather than for imperialism.

Since Vietnam, the U.S. has hesitated to use naked military aggression against progressive governments. This is not the wave of the future, as the *Wall Street Journal* (10/28/83) points out:

"Let's make this one as explicit as possible. The lesson of Grenada is that when appropriate, the US can and should rely on its military power to achieve its goals...We have always felt that the best way for this or any President to deal with the Vietnam syndrome was unashamedly to repudiate it. Mr. Reagan is doing that in the streets of Grenada."

blatant racism to hide its cowardly actions. Reagan's press secretary said that the U.S. had not released any figures about Grenadian casualties because the "Grenadians have bizarre religious customs and bury their dead too quickly to get an accurate count." Most Grenadian people are Roman Catholic.

Reagan said there were enough Soviet weapons in Grenada to arm "16,000 terrorists" — later the Defense Department admitted that there were 6323 rifles, only 800 of them modern. The lie that Grenada was becoming a "Soviet-Cuban satellite" was an attempt to degrade the proletarian internationalism of the Cuban construction workers who were helping to build the new international airport.

The cumulative impact of this strategy means that a majority of people in the U.S. now think that it was just fine for the U.S. to violate the sovereignty and self-determination of revolutionary Grenada in order to stem the tide of communism and Black Liberation.

The U.S. government began plotting to destroy the Grenadian revolution the moment the New Jewel Movement freed Grenada from the horror of the Gairy dictatorship in 1979. Two years ago Maurice Bishop sent a message to the United Nations warning that the U.S. was

practicing an invasion of Grenada with military maneuvers in Vieques, Puerto Rico. The target of the maneuvers was a "mythical" Caribbean nation called "Amber and the Amberdines" and the purpose of the "exercise" was to "rescue hostages". This was in July, 1981. The actual invasion waited until two years later, when problems in the New Jewel Movement left the Grenadian people without revolutionary leadership and unable to defend their revolution.

Documentation of U.S. counterinsurgency against revolutionary Grenada exposes that U.S. aggression did not begin, but rather peaked, on October 25, 1983. In June 1980 a bomb aimed at the leadership of the NJM was planted at a rally, killing three young Grenadians and injuring hundreds of others. On April 27, 1981, ten U.S. Nazis and Ku Klux Klansmen were arrested in New Orleans while preparing to invade Dominica. The U.S.-controlled Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, which allegedly asked the U.S. to invade Grenada, claims that it formed in response to this aborted KKK-Nazi invasion of Dominica. Eugenia Charles, the Prime Minister of Dominica, was the loudest apologist for Reagan immediately after the invasion.

A 1981 CIA "covert action plan" against Grenada and Surinam was studied, then sent back to CIA drawing boards for refinement. The examples of U.S. counterinsurgency against Grenada goes on: diplomatic maneuvering, pressure to deny loans, fires, shootings and the presence of the CIA at the medical school in Grenada.

In addition to counterinsurgency, another aspect of the U.S. war strategy is the building of a pro-war, super-patriotic, white supremacist base of support among white people for U.S. imperialism. It is no accident that the medical students who fell to their knees to kiss the asphalt of amerikkka and praise U.S. aggression are racists who call the Grenadian people "figs" ("F---g Ignorant Grenadians"). The growth of white supremacy and anti-blackness in the U.S. has been a hand-in-hand with reactionary nationalism.

Part of supporting the Grenadian resistance requires building resistance here, in the heart of the empire. Resistance must take on both the fight against organized white supremacy and particularly among white people, must be based in supporting the right of self-determination for all nations fighting US imperialism.

We see the KKK in their robes burning a Soviet flag at the Connecticut State Capitol and we see the KKK in their cammies preparing to invade Dominica or operating military training camps across the country. We see the Moonies attack anti-war demonstrators in Washington, DC and the Nazis holding meetings in public schools. But it's not just the Klan, or the Aryan Nations or the Nazis. It's the racist medical students; or the people who call for the "right to life" on the one hand and cheer the death penalty on the other; these people may never wear a KKK hood but form the social base for war and genocide here. When white patriotic Amerikkans cheer the invasion of a progressive Third World nation, we can begin to see how the Klan and the building of white supremacy is part of the US war machine.

Imperialism needs to build a base for war, especially but not only, among white people. Our movement must deny them that base. We believe that unless white supremacy is actively fought, white people will never be mobilized to fight imperialism, but will defend it instead.

The example of a free and socialist Grenada and Grenada's expressed commitment to the liberation of Black people internationally was a grave threat that US imperialism did not wish to live with. But the Grenadian people have lived with sovereignty, human rights and progress for 4 years now, the repression US imperialism can only breed revolutionary resistance which will, in time, rise and defeat it.

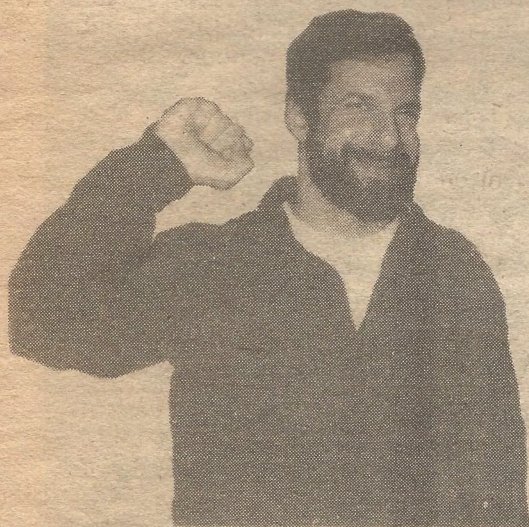
FORWARD EVER!  
BACKWARD NEVER!



# The Anti-War Movement: Then & Now

## A Comparison of 1964 & 1984

by David Gilbert



David Gilbert was a founder of the Independent Committee on Vietnam (1965) and a primary author of one of the first SDS pamphlets on US imperialism (1967). He has worked for more than twenty years to build a revolutionary movement among white people in this country. An early leader of Students for a Democratic Society, David went underground in the 1970s with the Weather Underground Organization. In 1981, still underground, he was captured along with New Afrikan and white revolutionaries in an attempt to expropriate \$1.6 million for the New Afrikan struggle (the "Brink's case"). In their trials, David, Kuwasi Balagoon and Judith Clark, identified themselves as Freedom Fighters and argued for the necessity of armed struggle to liberate New Afrika and defeat US imperialism. This article was written in response to the question: what do you see as the main differences between the anti-war movement in 1962, and today?

Dear Comrades:

How does 1962 compare to now in the development of mass anti-imperialist consciousness?

Of course there are broad similarities in that the drive toward imperialist war produces conditions for developing anti-imperialist consciousness and motion; also, that initial, spontaneous motion is likely to start out reformist and anti-communist.

But I'm not sure that 1962 is the right date because there really wasn't any consciousness of Vietnam then. In 1961-2, I wrote an article for my high school paper saying "we" (the U.S.) were supporting a dictator in Vietnam and this would lead to our involvement in a civil war there. This was considered to be kookism in the extreme. Later, certain left groups tried to bring banners on Vietnam to anti-nuclear rallies and were excluded and told that the peace issue shouldn't be confused with Vietnam. It was only with the bombing of North Vietnam in 1965 that Vietnam became an issue of mass consciousness. SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) led the first national anti-war demonstration in April, 1965. So I think the best comparison is 1964-5 and now. I think the major factors to look at are: relation to the Black struggle; anti-communism; nature of leadership; relationship to the state.

The early and middle '60's was characterized by the development of the Black Civil Rights movement. In response, there was a burgeoning of white liberal sympathy and support, also stimulating some white social activism. This white liberal sympathy probably peaked in the summer of 1964 with Mississippi Summer and the murder of Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner (Civil Rights activists murdered by the KKK). As with previous periods of U.S. history, it was the advance of the Black struggle that cracked open the potential for progressive motion among whites. In my opinion, this was key to why a strong movement developed against the war in Vietnam while there was no such movement against the very similar war in Korea fifteen years earlier. The point is that the response to the Civil Rights movement provided some fertile soil for a progressive anti-war movement. I'm an example. I was in the Columbia CORE (Congress on Racial Equality) chapter and becoming more conscious and active. With the bombing of North Vietnam in 1965 I started the Vietnam Committee. In the spring of 1965, the Vietnam Committee and CORE jointly blocked the ROTC ceremony.

Of course today the relationship to the Black movement is different. There has been a serious re-mobilization of white supremacy over the last twelve years. This is a problem for us, and it seems to me that a key task for white revolutionaries now is to make the connections between opposing imperialist war and support for internal (as well as external) national

liberation struggles.

Despite the origins of the 60's anti-war movement, we failed miserably to consolidate this connection. Today we are paying a terrible price for this political failure. On the other hand, there have been important ideological advances around our recognition of internal national liberation and the nature of the U.S. empire. So this provides at least the potential for us to make advances way beyond the 60's -- but getting there from here is going to be tougher.

The most prominent early internal issue for us was anti-communism. This got played out in the arena of the spontaneous leadership for the new anti-war movement. Amazingly, SDS (Students for Democratic Society) took the initiative and leadership to develop the movement. "Amazingly" because we were so organizationally diffuse and ideologically naive. In retrospect, we could do this because there was a complete leadership vacuum because of the predominance of anti-communism and their own political weaknesses, none of the Marxist-Leninist groups could pull off a national demonstration. On the other hand, the official peace groups and social-democratic reform groups wouldn't touch Vietnam because they didn't want to be associated with or support national liberation and communism in any way.

I was typical of many of the people being catapulted into motion around the war in 1965. I was for "democracy" and against "communism" as I had been raised to understand them, although by this time I was for "socialist" redistribution of wealth. (I did start to read Marx in this period because I figured if the people who were responsible for racism and war hated him so much he must have something useful to say. Of course, I loved what I read. But that was still a long way from considering myself a communist.) When I picked the name "Independent Committee on Vietnam," "independent" was a more or less conscious codeword to show that we weren't being manipulated by any communist group. On the other hand, I had a definite sense that attacks on and exclusion of communists was reactionary.

So SDS called the first national march on Washington against the war for April 17, 1965. SDS was the student branch of the social-democratic anti-communist "left," and these forces (e.g. Bayard Rustin, Michael Harrington, SANE) who reluctantly were "permitting" the anti-war march, put pressure on SDS to exclude communists. SDS leadership and people in the emerging base like myself had a definite sense that acceding to such anti-communism would be the death knell of any authentic radical movement, so SDS refused to do this, sponsored the march by ourselves, and welcomed all who were against the war.

(25,000 people came!—ed.)

Of course, ideologically we were very confused. At the march, no speaker defined the system as (or even discussed)

imperialism. Nor did SDS have any idea how to lead or build an anti-war movement after that one event. While structural and organizational responsibility was passed on to a national coalition (which later became the Mobilization) in which many of us were involved, SDS maintained a certain initiative and moral authority throughout -- but more for our activism and militancy than for political clarity. It wasn't until 1967 that we began to analyze the system as imperialism.

So, in 1965, there was a leadership vacuum, and our development was overwhelmingly spontaneous. Considering the limitations and problems of spontaneous development, I think we did amazingly well. There were two positive aspects to this spontaneity: (1) It was preferable to coming under the hegemony of either the reformist or the opportunist "Marxist" groups of the day (e.g., when I started to understand that there was an economic system -- imperialism -- behind the war and started to bring this out in the Vietnam Committee, the Socialist Workers' Party fought me tooth and nail to limit it to "bring the boys home."); (2) Without direct leadership, we tended to look to the Black struggle and Vietnam for lessons; this is where the best of our politics came from.

On the other hand, we had all the problems associated with spontaneity -- no rooted position and understanding of the national question (national liberation within the U.S.); lack of class analysis; the prevalence of male supremacy; lack of organizational cohesion; cadres who believed in instantaneous success, etc. Certainly spontaneity was one important factor in the failure of our left to consolidate anything off of the great victories of and around Vietnam.

Today, the big difference is that there are opportunist groups already in place to take formal leadership and act to contain the upsurge. In many ways, this is worse than the spontaneity of eighteen years ago. Further, too many new people, we ourselves may appear as an "external" Marxist grouping with far out rhetoric. So we have to relate more organically to the upsurge without compromising our politics. Surely the fact that a coherent, revolutionary politics does exist, and even has some organizational form, has to be tremendous potential advantage over 1965; though we have to figure out how to make that potential a reality.

Because of my own history, I have tremendous sympathy with and hope for young people -- even with half-baked and anti-communist politics -- beginning to go into motion against imperialist war. It is important to draw a distinction between

an opportunist leadership whose function is to contain struggle, who are a definite obstacle, and the people at the base who may spontaneously have a reformist consciousness (as we all did at one point) but are better defined by being in motion against imperialist war. We have to relate to and develop the potential that motion implies. The fact that 2,000 people took the communiques (on the Capitol bombing) is a very good sign.

It would be wrong to say that the state gave us a free ride in the early '60's, but they certainly underestimated our revolutionary potential. This is not likely to happen again. Even with the Black movement, the state allowed a little slack to Civil Rights in 1954-66 because of the public relations needs in pursuing a neo-colonial strategy with newly independent Africa. However, state surveillance and attack on the Black movement was from the beginning qualitatively heavier than on us. For example, as early as 1964, the N.Y.P.D. Red Squad had a quality informant in place as Malcolm X's bodyguard. This snake was recruited out of high school and had impressive movement credentials. Similarly, material is now surfacing on the FBI/Klan assaults on the Black movement in the South in this same period.

They also definitely kept track of us from the beginning. For example, my FBI file begins with my first leaflet (at Columbia) against the war. A student "stringer" for the pigs came to our meetings and took notes; pictures of people were taken; the FBI was very concerned to find out about "communist influence"; within a year disruptive rumors began circulating that various people were informers. But there does not appear to have been the long term recruitment of quality informants and nothing like the level of disruption nor the violent attacks that was already being rained on the Black movement at this time. Kent State (seven years into the development of our movement) was really the main example of premeditated murder by the state in order to squelch the white anti-war movement. (Of course, when three Chicanos were killed in the Chicano Anti-War Moratorium in L.A. the white anti-war movement didn't say or do anything.)

This time around, the state is a lot more conscious from the beginning of the dangers of a developing anti-war movement. There will be higher quality informants/agents infiltrated from the beginning as well as much more disruption, fomenting splits, earlier violence, more channeling into reformist directions from the outset. Reagan's great

See Anti-War Movement, page 13



US Out of Grenada demonstration, Berkeley, California





**"No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver—no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare."**

**Malcolm X  
The Ballot or the Bullet  
April 3, 1964**

# History: A Weapon of Liberation

**"Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight."**

Malcolm X  
*Message to the Grassroots*

February, the year's shortest month, is Black History Month. It was created because Black people rose up all over this country during the 1960s and 70s, struggling to reclaim their true history and gain freedom. In the streets, the communities, and schools, revolutionary struggle was happening as the Black Nation moved for its liberation.

February is also a time to honor the great revolutionary nationalist Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, who was assassinated in Harlem, New York on February 21, 1965. Each year the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee sponsors activities around this time, because we believe that white people also must remember Malcolm and affirm the principles of resistance he fought for.

Basic to this is the need to struggle against the white supremacy of both the government and the KKK; and to build support for the New Afrikan Independence Movement which is fighting to free the Black Nation so long enslaved inside the US. It was Malcolm who, in understanding the history of his people's 350 year struggle for human rights, made the truth a powerful weapon of liberation from the modern day slavery of imperialism. He inspired the New Afrikan struggle to learn from revolutions around the world by teaching that,

**"Land is the basis for all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality. This is the only solution, we must become an inde-**

**pendent nation. We now number 20 million Black people, a nation within a nation, a Black Nation within a white nation, crying to be born, crying to be set free."**

To attempt to stop the development of leadership and organization necessary for the New Afrikan Nation to win its freedom, imperialism killed Malcolm X. But the empire was unable to kill his spirit and his example, as it has been unable to kill the resistance of Black people brought here as slaves at the birth of this country.

Today in 1984, most people, and especially the young, are fed a steady diet of half-truths and lies which is called official history, meaning that it represents the story that the rulers of this country want us to believe is true. For the government and its educational establishment, Black History Month has been transformed into an effort to fill the minds of students with the belief that this country has a real commitment to overcoming racism and injustice. The goal of these official history lessons is to spread the myth that Lincoln freed the slaves, and since that time progress has been slow, but continuous.

The young are told that more will be achieved only by working together as Americans, peacefully, hand in hand with the system. Even with the current enthusiasm generated by the Jesse Jackson campaign, it is hard to believe that the youth of the Black Nation will be easily convinced that power can be found in the ballot box.

Black youth by the hundreds of thousands are approaching adulthood in racist schools that have become more like detention centers than places of learning. There they face administrations who often look on them as objects, a population to control and indoctrinate. Beyond the school gates stands a future where half of all Black teenagers today will never find a job, and 25%

will go to prison; where Black families make 56% of what white families earn, and where every social advance won by Black people during the 60s has been wiped out.

Now that the American dream is less and less able to hide the reality that things are going from bad to worse, a major effort is being made to pacify the colonized Black Nation.

The young are particular targets for ideological assault, because not only will they be the adults of tomorrow, they are a dynamic, potentially rebellious force today. To rob this generation of the understandings they need to have in order to struggle, imperialism has rewritten the actual history of the Black Nation inside the US.

Gone from most classrooms are the overt glorifications of the plantations and slavery, of segregation and Jim Crow. But in their place has come the liberal illusion that the US really has changed, that Black people achieved equality with the Civil Rights Movement, Dr. King, and non-violence.

We are told that the goals of the Black Liberation struggle were achieved in the 1960s, and the murderous assaults by the FBI on the Black movement are completely covered up. All of this is presented to a whole generation who have no real memory of what the Civil Rights and Black Power movements actually represented to Black people.

For Malcolm X, history was a weapon of liberation. For imperialism, it is propaganda designed to keep colonized people under control, and white people tied to the patriotic red, white and blue.

History is a great teacher. But only if we understand that it is not just a collection of dates, places, or famous people. It is made by nations, classes, and people in struggle. At the core of US history is the conflict between imperialism on the one hand and the nations of New Afrika, Puerto Rico,

Mexico, and Native Americans colonized internally on the other.

We need to struggle for a revolutionary understanding of history. It is not at a standstill, it is always in motion. There will be revolutionary struggle as long as there is oppression. When we look at it this way and decide to do something to end oppression, we pass from the official versions of Amerikkka spread by those in power, to the side of the resistance.

Cutting through the lies, we begin to discover that there was never peace between imperialism and the Black Nation, or any other people it enslaved and colonized. And we find that the powerful tradition of revolution against slavery didn't end with freedom fighters like Denmark Vesey and Harriet Tubman, but continued through every decade of the 19th and 20th centuries, and continues today with freedom fighters like Sekou Odinga and Kuwasi Balagoon; sometimes underground carrying slaves North, and sometimes in the streets of Watts, Newark, Detroit and Miami.

So too, we cross over from the terms of racist textbooks accepted by the majority of white people to understanding that the struggle of the New Afrikan Nation for independence and self-determination has always been at the forefront of all progressive and revolutionary movement among white people. This was true for John Brown and thousands of others who fought slavery 100 years ago; and it was true in the 1960s and 70s, when significant numbers of white people gave support to the Black Liberation struggle for a brief time. Today, we need to study this history, to learn its lessons and to carry on the traditions of resistance.

**Books by Malcolm X: *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*; *Malcolm X Speaks*; *Malcolm X on Afro-American History***



## KNOW YOUR ENEMY

"Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon — that International Communist System — shall be thrown down and shall be found no more ... and all the disco bongo from the congo ... the N---r jive is going to go."

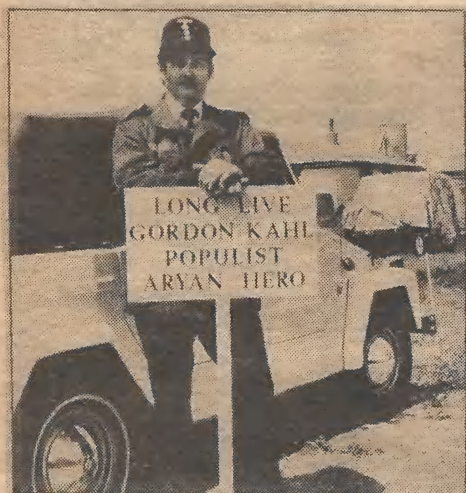
—Posse Comitatus 'Minister'  
William Gale

On February 17, 1983, near Medina, North Dakota, Posse Comitatus leader Gordon Kahl, 63, his son Yoris, and another Posse member were involved in a shoot-out with federal marshals who were attempting to arrest Kahl for federal tax evasion. When the smoke cleared, two marshals were dead, Kahl's son and Scott Kaul lay wounded and Gordon Kahl fled in an unmarked police car.

A manhunt ensued for the next three and a half months involving hundreds of law enforcement officers and advanced equipment such as infrared airborne spotters. On June 3, another shoot-out occurred in the hills of northern Arkansas. Kahl was killed as police gunfire exploded hundreds of rounds of ammunition in a Hitler-style concrete farmhouse bunker.

In an interview with the Harvey, N.D. *Herald*, Kahl had said: "The income tax is one of the ten planks of the Communist Manifesto, call it the ten commandments of Satan." In a letter received by the Aryan Nations Headquarters after the North Dakota shoot-out, Kahl said: "A Jewish Communist Conspiracy has taken over the U.S. ... they have two objectives in their goal of ruling the world. Destroy Christianity and the white race. Neither can be accomplished by itself .. they stand or fall together. Christian patriots should bring His enemies before Him and slay them."

The events surrounding Kahl catapulted the Posse Comitatus into the national limelight. It has emerged as another important white supremacist force, like the Ku Klux Klan, in the growing reactionary movement in this country. Its primary base of support lies among farmers in the rural areas of Wisconsin, North Dakota, Kansas, Missouri, California, Oregon, Illinois and Colorado. They have been recently opening up organizing in other parts of the country as well.



Nazis glorify Kahl

### History and Ideology of Posse

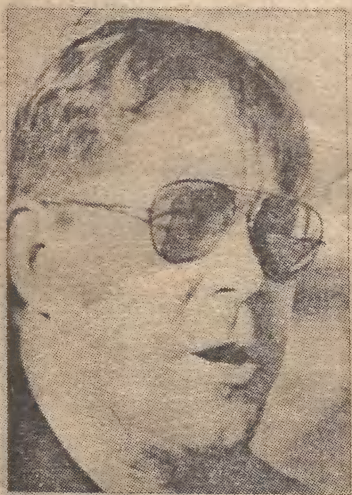
The Posse was started in 1969 in Portland, Oregon, by Mike Beach, now in his 70's, who was a pro-Nazi "Silver Shirt" in the 1930's. Still today, the Posse Comitatus is rabidly anti-Semitic. Posse Comitatus in Latin means "power of the county." They believe in local control and that the federal government is ignoring the rights of the "white Christian majority." They refuse to pay federal taxes.

The Posse Comitatus has a vision of taking power in the United States through a right-wing revolution. After committing genocide against Third World people and Jews, they plan to set-up a white Christian nation. "Survivalists" who are building a military capability, their view is that society will break down due to nuclear war, "inner-city Blacks" will flee to the countryside, and rural whites will have to defend themselves or face sharing what they have.

# The Posse Comitatus

The Posse cannot be written off as a bunch of kooks. They have an estimated 1,000 members in Wisconsin and 2 - 10,000 members elsewhere. Most importantly, they are growing in size and influence.

Small farmers are feeling the crunch during the economic crisis and the Posse has been organizing among them to prevent farm foreclosures. Farmers are increasingly receptive to appeals of "Don't pay your taxes" at a time when they can't pay their taxes. In Wallace



James Wickstrom

County, Kansas, the sheriff, assisted by police from across the state, was prevented from recovering farm equipment in a foreclosure action by 40 to 50 Posse members and supporters. A sign read: "To all officers of the law - if you've come to harass us, any survivors will be prosecuted." In Springfield, Colorado, 250 farmers battled police on January 4, 1983, at the auction of Jerry Wright's farm. Wright is a co-founder of the American Agricultural Movement (AAM) which claims 20,000 members. A popular man, he is an open advocate of the Posse Comitatus and has been involved in Posse-sponsored paramilitary survival training in western Kansas. Although the training was called a "Bible Study" by the owner of the farm where it took place, instructions were given how to blow up roads, dams and bridges.

The potential for a fascist movement among farmers clearly exists. The Posse is expounding its larger vision as well as organizing around refusing to pay taxes and fighting farm foreclosures. National attention was brought to radio station KTTL-FM owned by Posse adherents Nellie and Charles Babbs. Located in southwestern Kansas, the only country and western station in a 60-mile radius, it is situated in an area with less than 400 Black people and a handful of Jews.

The Babbs aired tapes recorded by Reverend William P. Gale and James Wickstrom, "head of counter-insurgency" for the Posse. Gale, a leader in the racist and anti-semitic Identity Church network and long time fascist, is an ex-Army colonel who served on Gen. Douglas McArthur's staff for seven years. He directed counter-insurgency in the Philippines and has written five books on guerrilla warfare. Gale spoke about "Black beasts" on the air and exclaimed: "Yes, we're gonna cleanse our land. We're gonna do it with violence ... it's about time someone is telling you to get violent, whitey."

The Babbs have refused to pay their property taxes and the station's receipts have been attached by the state. Many listeners, in particular Mexicans, have complained about the programs, but the F.C.C. has defended the Babbs' "freedom of speech."

### Tigerton Dells, Wisconsin

Many people first heard about the Posse Comitatus when they attacked a Native American land claim takeover by the Menominee in 1974. The Posse acts on

their belief that the U.S. is "white man's land."

Because they consider the federal government captured by "Jew Communist bankers" they have set up their own town called the township of Tigerton Dells in northern Wisconsin, where at least 25 members live on 1300 acres of land in mobile homes. Posse members serve as judge, constable, marshal, clerk and town chairman. James Wickstrom and another Posse member face charges of "impersonating town officials" and the state of Wisconsin does not recognize Tigerton Dells as a legitimate township.

Wickstrom, the Posse's leader, a Vietnam veteran, represents the new generation of fascists. He is an ardent admirer of former reactionary Wisconsin senator Joseph McCarthy. Wickstrom polled 16,000 votes when he ran for U.S. Senate in 1980 from his Constitution Party. He now devotes most of his time to running things in Tigerton Dells.

A self-proclaimed minister, he has set-up a congregation of his Life Science Church (Identity) with its rabidly racist and anti-semitic doctrine. The church is used as a theological base for fighting a race war, as well as a tax shelter for Posse members.

### Building a Para-military Capacity

Wickstrom's most important role is as "director of counter-insurgency." Building a military capacity is a main ingredient of the Posse's program. It is no coincidence that Posse leaders, like Gale and Wickstrom, are former military men.

Wickstrom is preparing his "Army of Elijah" and declares "There's a Holy War coming. I feel it is going to have to happen soon. It's the only recourse to save America."

"Camp Tigerton," as Wickstrom calls Tigerton Dells, serves as a main training site in preparation for race war and to confront government officials. According to a local resident, "It sort of went away from being a neo-Nazi training camp with swastikas, stormtrooper boots and all, and now to a para-military group with automatic weapons and guerrilla training." Road blocks into the town stop travelers, threatening to jail "trespassers" in the Tigerton jail. It is thought that this is done to keep secret their large cache of weapons and their underground bunkers.

In 1981, a government raid was conducted on the farm of Posse members in Montello, Wisconsin. High explosives were found and construction had begun on a series of tunnels and bunkers. The Posse utilized the Federal Firearms License number of a Portage, Wisconsin, sporting goods store to obtain \$22,000 worth of guns and ammunition for sophisticated military weaponry. It is believed that the Posse has rockets, and the Posse is manufacturing its own ammunition.

Wickstrom has sponsored a series of "counter-insurgency seminars" around the country, mostly in the Midwest and West. In a typical session in Weskan, Kansas, 56 participants were trained as "killer teams in hand-to-hand combat, the administration of poisons, night combat patrol, and murder by ambush." In another seminar in Springfield, Colorado, believed linked to the Posse, bomb manufacturing techniques were taught.

It is commonplace for young men in fatigues, carrying knives or guns, to be in attendance at rallies in Tigerton with up to 300 people.

### Vigilante Organization

The Posse Comitatus is a vigilante organization. Originally conceived, in part, as a "civilian posse" to aid local law enforcement, they wear star-shaped badges that read "Sheriff's Posse

Comitatus." In 1975 in California, they drove United Farmworkers Union organizers off a farm with guns. In 1980, when Cuban immigrants were detained at Fort McCoy, 25 miles from Tigerton, the Posse distributed literature at nearby factories which announced "the first Annual Cuban Shoot-Out."

They have had run-ins with the state of Wisconsin over tax evasion and the status of Tigerton Dells ever since the Posse moved there in 1974. Members have driven police off the land at gunpoint, gone to court armed, and threatened judges through letters from a "Committee to Save Judges From Hanging."

### U.S. Government's Attitude Toward Posse

Although there are many tax evasion cases against the Posse pending in court, officials treated them with "kid gloves" until the incident with Gordon Kahl. An Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms official has said, "They're farmers — basically good people — who don't deal dope or rob people. Nothing about them tips you off that they might be looking to shoot you." This view underlies official policy.

The Posse plays an important role for imperialism when it organizes farmers and others to identify Blacks and other Third World people as causing current economic and social problems. The government has used the Klan and will need fascist armies for its own strategy to contain national liberation movements inside the U.S. That is why para-military training by the Posse, the Klan and other violent right-wing groups is condoned and encouraged.

However, the Posse Comitatus does have aspirations of running the country after a fascist "revolution." They see the present government in the hands of "liberals" and "Jewish Communists" and oppressive to the (white) "little man." Compared to most right-wing groups, the Posse is in a high state of conflict with federal and local government. With the Kahl incident, the government showed both its ability and willingness to come down hard on groups like the Posse when its authority is too threatened.

It is worth noting that the government has not imprisoned the Posse's leadership even though Gordon Kahl killed two federal marshals. The government will probably try to steer the Posse in a direction more to its liking, keep them better under control rather than attempt to destroy them.

### Links

The Posse's religiously based anti-semitic and racist views are part of the growing trend of Identity Churches like the Life Science of Basic Bible Church, the Aryan Nations, Christian Patriots Defense League and others. Identity is the

See Posse, page 13



Posse Propaganda



# Communiques

"Armed struggle is the road to the mobilization of the masses."

—Masoud Amadzadeh  
Iranian revolutionary  
and martyr, 1971

*Death To The Klan* reprints these messages from the armed clandestine movement because we believe that the development of these organizations is a tremendous advance for the entire anti-imperialist movement. For a revolutionary movement to win it must develop an armed component, which can organize clandestinely and show that it is possible to successfully attack the enemy without getting wiped out. By sharply targeting and exposing the enemy — politically, militarily, industrially, financially — armed propaganda educates people and is an important part of building revolutionary consciousness and practice against US imperialism.

The armed clandestine forces and the public political organizations are both aspects of one anti-imperialist strategy. Building unity and cohesion between these separate, but closely allied elements requires political debate, accountability and struggle for principle. We reprint communiques from these clandestine organizations at the same time that we argue for total non-collaboration with the government's efforts to "investigate" [destroy] these and other revolutionary armed forces.

## Armed Resistance Unit Bombs US Capitol

November 7, 1983

Tonight we bombed the U.S. Capitol building. We attacked the U.S. government to retaliate against imperialist aggression that has sent the marines, the CIA and the army to invade sovereign nations, to trample and lay waste to the lives and rights of the peoples of Grenada, Lebanon, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, to carry out imperialism's need to dominate, oppress, and exploit. Every act of the U.S. military — directed by the White House and Congress — has been nothing less than an outright attack on the fundamental right of nations to self-determination, peace and freedom. These acts have been carried out with cynical disregard for life as well as for truth. Reagan calls progress and revolution "terrorism" and tries to portray the true terrorism of imperialist invasion as "democracy" and "freedom." Only a government arrogant enough to believe that its economic and political needs should dominate the whole world can call the invasion of Grenada a "rescue operation," the invasion of Lebanon a "peace-keeping mission," the fascist rulers of El Salvador "democracy's friends," and the contras "freedom fighters." The Reagan lie that the invasion of Grenada prevented a "Cuban takeover" is nothing less than a pretext for eliminating a Black socialist nation in the Caribbean. Last year, in a dress

rehearsal called "Ocean Venture," the U.S. armed forces practiced the Grenadian invasion on the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico. The vicious attack on the socialist nation of Cuba — which has provided a consistent, revolutionary example of proletarian internationalism — and the attempt to discredit and destroy the People's Revolutionary Army and the New Jewel Movement of the Grenadian people, show the extent to which the U.S. will go in order to control and dominate Latin America, Central America, and the Caribbean, and to try to defeat socialism in the region. With the collusion of the press, the U.S. government is building anti-communism to justify these attacks and further military aggression to resolve its own internal economic and political problems.

We are acting in solidarity with all those leading the fight against U.S. imperialism — the peoples of Grenada, Lebanon, Palestine, El Salvador, and Nicaragua — who are confronting direct U.S. aggression, and those like the peoples of Chile and the Philippines, who are struggling to free their nations from U.S. puppet regimes. They are all paying a tremendous price for freedom, and we commit ourselves to fight with the same seriousness for the same goals — self-determination for oppressed nations, the total defeat of imperialism, and the building of a socialist world.

Our action also carries a message to the anti-imperialist movement here, that we need to resist and fight as people all over the world are doing — with principle, consistency and determination. We join with all the people across the U.S., and the millions throughout the world, who condemn U.S. imperialist aggression. Our solidarity with the liberation struggles under attack by U.S. imperialism must be uncompromising, militant, and unwavering in supporting the right of those nations to self-determination. We cannot fall into the trap of debating which wing of the government has the right to declare war, or which politician might be less blatant in his racism and anti-communism, nor can we be fooled by those bourgeois politicians who claim to be sympathetic to Third World nations —

and who would more 'humanely' exploit those nations in the interest of U.S. imperialism. The enemy is the imperialist system. Electoral politics and pacifism are paths that have been tried many times, and that have failed. To follow those paths now will only weaken and undermine the movement and defeat our attempts to organize greater numbers of people to resist.

Our action carries a message to the U.S. imperialist ruling class: we purposely aimed our attack at the institutions of imperialist rule rather than at individual members of the ruling class and government. We did not choose to kill any of them at this time. But their lives are not sacred, and their hands are stained with the blood of millions. Let it be as clear to the people of this country as it is to the rest of the people of the world that the U.S. ruling class are war criminals, and they will be held accountable for their crimes.

33 years ago almost to the day, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola, two Puerto Rican Nationalists fighting for Independence for Puerto Rico, attacked another part of imperialist power — the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the U.S. Their action was one of the first in which the oppressed brought the war back to the doorsteps of the oppressor. We salute them and all those Puerto Rican, Mexican, New Afrikan, Native American and North American freedom fighters who have been killed or captured in the struggle. To them also, our action carries a message — our commitment to carry on the struggle.

**U.S. Military Out of Grenada, Lebanon, and Central America!**

**Defend the Grenadian and Nicaraguan Revolutions!**

**Victory to the FMLN/FDR!**

**Support the Lebanese National Movement and the P.L.O.!**

**Fight U.S. Imperialism! Build a Revolutionary Resistance Movement!**



## United Freedom Front Bombs Motorola

**U.S. Out of El Salvador -  
Hands Off Nicaragua!**

Communique #7  
January 29, 1984

Tonight armed units of the United Freedom Front bombed offices and facilities of the Motorola Corporation in Queens, New York City. This continues our expanded campaign against the U.S. military machine and the death merchants, (war contractor companies), who grow rich from the profits of war production. This action is an expression of solidarity and support for the People of Central America, especially Nicaragua and El Salvador, who are courageously resisting U.S. Imperialism in their struggle for Freedom and Self-Determination.

While public awareness of Motorola as a death merchant is not as widespread as it is for other corporations like Honeywell, it none the less has a long bloody history of war production. In 1976 the Pentagon listed Motorola as the 66th largest war contractor in the U.S. with contracts

totaling just under 86 million dollars. By 1982 they were ranked 58th with contracts totaling over 143 million dollars. Thanks to Reagan and his "take-from-the-People-and-give-to-the-bomb-makers" policy, in just the first half of 1983, Motorola was already guaranteed \$125 million in war contracts. Many of Motorola's Pentagon contracts are so secret that they are listed in only the vaguest of terms, for example, "\$9.2 million - army - classified electronics." Public records do show however, that Motorola manufacturers target detecting devices for the Navy and Air Force, SHRIKE missile antenna kits for the Air Force; missile guidance systems for the Navy, side looking airborne radar for the Mohawk and other reconnaissance aircraft and dozens of other weapon systems including proximity fuses for cluster bombs.

Cluster bombs are anti-personnel/anti-people bombs made up of individual units contained within a larger bomb. A cluster bomb can break up in the air releasing individual bomblets, resulting in hundreds of separate explosions. These smaller bombs can explode in the air, on the

ground or with a delayed fuse. Motorola proximity fuses are an integral part of these bombs.

Death merchants like Motorola along with U.S. forces all over the world are spearheading U.S. Imperialism's constant need to own and control the lands, lives and resources of as many other nations as possible. The rapidly deepening U.S. involvement/aggression in Central America is probably the clearest example of Imperialism.

In El Salvador, despite daily murders, extreme repression, untold millions of U.S. government dollars, tons of U.S. military equipment and thousands of U.S. troops in and around their country, the People and their fighting forces (FMLN) are advancing. They are liberating more and more land, setting up popular governing councils and militarily defeating even the so called elite U.S. trained units of the fascist Salvadorean government army. The FMLN has launched two successful campaigns since last fall. The latest titled, "Yankee Aggressors out of Grenada and Central America," has been decisively successful,

including taking over large cities, having a whole company of fascist, puppet government troops surrender, destroying critical and well guarded bridges like the Cuscatlan Bridge and capturing fascist military bases like el Parsiso. The fact is that despite the U.S. government's bloody support for the fascist government there the People and their FMLN-FDR leaders are turning the tide and will probably be finally winning control of their lives and country in the not so distant future.

As for Nicaragua, the U.S. government has thousands of its own troops surrounding this small nation, while a mercenary force of counter revolutionary rats, paid, trained and supplied by the U.S. is regularly killing mostly civilians and damaging property. Recent attacks like the aircraft and speedboat bombing of the Port of Potosi could only have been done from U.S. warships lurking off the Nicaraguan coasts. The Nicaraguan People have responded to this aggression by strengthening their defenses and trying to let the world know that a U.S. invasion

*continued on next page*



is imminent. This is joined by the URNG's (the People's guerrilla opposition in Guatemala) recent warning that U.S. aggression is coming while from El Salvador we hear,

"Whether aggression will be directed first against the People of El Salvador or Nicaragua is a decision which lies in Reagan's hands. Both aggressions are part of the same plan with the same objective..."

FMLN General Command 11/5/83

Kissinger's recently released report on Central America calls for just these kinds of invasions. Based on 160 years of American expansionism-imperialism (Monroe Doctrine), and calling for 8 billion dollars worth of U.S. military and



other aid, Kissinger essentially laid out a plan to totally control and recolonize all of Central America. This plan calls for increased support for the counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua, for hundreds of millions more to the El Salvadorean fascists and generals, resumption of military aid to the generals in Guatemala and a revised and intensified program to "eliminate" the Freedom Fighters. The Monroe Doctrine, Kissinger's plan and all the present U.S. attempts to control Central America are totally without moral and legal justification and are only based on the power of U.S. imperialism's bombs and guns.

Motorola not only contributes to imperialism's international exploitation but also takes advantage of the cheap labor and reactionary governments as well by locating its foreign holdings in countries like Puerto Rico, South Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Costa Rica, Israel and South Africa.

In South Africa, Motorola assembles and sells a wide range of electronic equipment. About 15% of their South African sales in 1977 were to government agencies. One half a million dollars worth of equipment was sold to the security forces including two way radios and transmitters which have helped them maintain their racist apartheid policies. Under pressure from the UN's boycott of South Africa, Motorola no longer sells directly to the government but instead to the State Tender Board, a central procurement agency for several departments including South Africa's military and security forces.

Being an active supporter and benefactor of the apartheid system in South Africa, it's no surprise that Motorola has been involved in corrupt and racist policies in the U.S. as well. In 1980, Black workers won a 13-15 million dollar settlement from a discrimination job bias suit against the company. Over the years, various Motorola executives have been convicted of numerous payoffs and rip off schemes.

Together with its death merchant backers, the U.S. government's policies of exploitation and repression at home coupled with its export of war and theft of other People's lands and resources abroad is just what imperialism means. Soup lines, unemployment lines and body bags arriving from different parts of the world is what the real deal is in early 1984 and all the flowery words of worn out old actors can't change that. We must expose, attack and eliminate these policies and the system that spawns them. Here in the belly of the beast we are in the crucial position of fighting for our own interests and survival while at the same time rendering real support to the Freedom loving People from El Salvador to Nicaragua to South Africa and around the world.

**Defeat U.S. Imperialism And Its Death Merchants!  
Victory To The South African People-  
Death To Apartheid!  
Revolutionary Support And Love  
To The Locked Down Freedom  
Fighters And Grand Jury Resisters!**

**We Dedicate This Action As A Part Of  
The International Day Of Solidarity  
With The People Of El Salvador  
United Freedom Front**

## Stop Killer Cops,

continued from page 14

tection. In 1983, the extent of overt police cooperation with the right was exposed with the revelation that members of the Intelligence Division of the LAPD had a contract with a John Birch Society front called Western Goals to feed files on political activists into their right-wing computer network.

Reforms don't work. Years of struggle for police review boards and dozens of lawsuits haven't resulted in any real changes. The police are occupying armies in the streets of the United States. They can't be reformed any more than the US Marines.

Only self-determination, land, and political power for the Black nation will put an end to police terror because only an end to colonial rule can guarantee Black people their human rights. The anti-Klan movement must begin to expose and fight against killer cops and to support the absolute right of the Black nation to self-defense against racist terror, no matter what the source.

Struggle against the police can't just happen in the Black community. The police are being organized to oppose any movement that challenges imperialism, whether it is militant opposition to US intervention or people in the street against the Klan. Progressive white people have to build an anti-imperialist movement that names the state and the police as our enemy too. We must fight in solidarity with the New Afrikan Independence Movement and all colonized people to defeat US imperialism. •

## Anti-War Movement,

from page 9

success in directing the media around Grenada puts another brick in place for this strategy. The greater consciousness by the state means that the old-style spontaneity would be disastrous for the new anti-war movement. There needs to be a way that the revolutionary lessons we acquired painfully over the years can be brought to and applied to what is building now. One very significant advance is that today there are already armed clandestine organizations taking action against imperialist war.

I want to underscore a couple of basic points. The mobilization for imperialist war is a very heavy and urgent issue now. It's something that has a big impact on people's lives and expresses the crisis of capitalism. It is a key point where national liberation and white working class interests intersect. So central tasks for white revolutionaries now include: (1) oppose imperialist war; (2) draw the connection to support for internal national liberation; (3) expose and organize around the class nature of who pays the costs of defending the empire; (4) develop a mass understanding of the imperialist state as a fundamental enemy; (5) support the development of armed clandestine organizations.

With love, for revolution,

David



On January 26, 1984 in Goshen, New York, Ahmed Obafemi, a leader and spokesperson for the National Committee to Defend New African Freedom Fighters, was fined \$1000 because he refused to stand for a US judge.

Ahmed was arrested in June, 1983, when he (and 40 other people) refused to rise for judge David Ritter on opening day of the "Brinks" trial. Some deputies viewed this as a sign of disrespect for the US 'system of justice'. Ahmed was singled out and attacked and three others who tried to defend him were also arrested.

For any Black people to refuse to stand for a US judge is nothing more than the recognition of the role of the courts in the colonization of the New Afrikan (Black) Nation. From the 'black codes' of the 1660's to fugitive slave laws, to the massively disproportionate incarceration of Black people in US prisons today, the entire criminal justice system is the legal apparatus that has enforced the colonial domination of the whole Black Nation for 400 years.

Ahmed was attacked and arrested for refusing to give respect to a racist system that disrespects the international and human rights of all Black people from the Congo to Grenada to New Afrika. He and the three other people were fined a total of \$2,000, in a punitive action designed to threaten all who would 'disrespect' the US system of criminal justice, and take significant financial bite out of the New Afrikan and anti-imperialist movements' limited resources.

We ask all people who are outraged at this racist and threatening legal maneuver to show support by making a financial contribution to help pay the fines. Contributions should be sent to *Death To The Klan* and marked "Don't Rise!"

## Klan Rally in LA, from page 4

begun in LA. The presence and active leadership of Black demonstrators was a call for action from the Black community and a clear statement that Black people won't be intimidated by white supremacist terror. In the chants, slogans and political statements of the demonstration, the street rang loud with the traditions of Black resistance. Black leadership and the New Afrikan national liberation movement have always played a central and leading role in fighting white supremacy. As this struggle unfolds in LA, it is the first time that anti-Klan activists are fighting white supremacy directly under the leadership of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

The response of the press has been to ignore the Black demonstrators. The press didn't even acknowledge that the cross-burning took place in a community that was 70% Black and denies any relationship between Black people and the Klan. The media instead projects the JDL as the "real" fighters against the Klan and Nazis. While the New Afrikans are "non-existent," JBAKC is branded as the "communists," and at the Klan court hearings, the JDL carries signs that say, "Kill the Klan and the Commies."

While the Center for Black Survival continues to organize against the Klan as a central part of their national liberation movement, JBAKC is building solidarity with the New Afrikan Independence Movement and has begun a statewide anti-Klan campaign against Tom Metzger, WAR and the emergence of the Aryan Nations that includes exposing the racist JDL.

While many facts regarding the December 3 Los Angeles crossburning still remain to be uncovered, some things are clear. The Klan and Nazis are growing and they are uniting under the banner of the Aryan Nations; police complicity with the Klan was once again exposed at the crossburning and in the courtroom; the JDL is trying to capitalize on the anti-semitism of the Nazis and the Klan to build their own fascist organization. At the same time, the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the anti-Klan movement in LA have begun to organize for the long battle ahead, and the recent events are only the tip of a very white and racist iceberg. •

## Grand Jury, continued from page 6

Mr. Rose (the US attorney who has prosecuted all the criminal contempt cases against Grand Jury resisters) made a big deal about the fact that L. Patrick Gray, the head of the FBI, Mark Felt, and Edwin Miller were prosecuted by the US government, but Mr. Rose did not tell you that L. Patrick Gray, Felt and Miller did not spend a day in jail for breaking the law because the President of the United States pardoned them, because he did not consider that they had committed a crime.

If we had accepted a narrow definition of this case, you never would have found out why conscience and adherence to the principles of human rights, the ability of people to live as they choose and as equals, moves individuals to take the serious step of breaking the law, knowing full well what the consequences will be.

The task that confronts our movement today is the broadening of our principles: the example of Grand Jury resisters, of political prisoners, has to be translated into a mass movement against repression. The Grand Jury must be defeated. Criminal contempt trials must be stopped, and the spreading of revolutionary strategy must be increased. This is the challenge that all of us, imprisoned or on the streets, have to accept. •

## Posse, from page 11

ideological background of 1980's fascism. Its preachers, often ex-military officers, long-time Klansmen or Nazis, are united by an interpretation of the Bible that justifies genocide against Third World people and Jews. They are united through a commitment to fascism and through paramilitary networks.

The Posse has carried out joint paramilitary training with the Ku Klux Klan and Minutemen in Southern California. David Duke, national Klan leader, has said, "We work with the Posse Comitatus whenever we can ... we get their material and funnel it to our groups." In addition, the Posse gets some funding from Lyndon Larouche's right-wing U.S. Labor Party. The USLP hopes that funds to the Posse will strengthen the fascist-populist aims of the USLP among farmers. •



# FROM THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

## On Leadership

Every political movement, every movement in revolt against exploitation and oppression, must confront the question of leadership. What is leadership and how does leadership develop? The New Afrikan Independence Movement in particular and the Black Liberation Movement in general have not been exceptions to this rule. Over the last two decades we have experienced an intense struggle around the question of leadership: What are the vanguard principles that develop strong leadership for our people's struggle for self-determination? What are the essential characteristics of a vanguard organization capable of winning our national liberation?

Malik ElShabazz, most widely known as Malcolm X, taught us that "of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research." He said that whenever we had a problem to solve, what we needed to do was study how other people with a problem similar to ours dealt with theirs; and from this investigation we would gain a positive insight into how to deal with our problem and get it straightened out. We have found this principle very useful, particularly in relation to the question of leadership.

More than an issue of mere organizational concern, we believe the question of leadership is of interest to the future of oppressed people as a whole. In the case of Amerika—that is to say, the white super-power nation known as the USA—we know that a struggle exists inside it. Indeed, there are white people exploited by capitalism and slaughtered by imperialism. We

know well that the US government is also the foremost enemy of several million Amerikans forced to sell their skins in a tight labor market for their bare survival. We, therefore, recognize that the effective organizing, political education and cultural development of these Amerikans who have every reason to break with US imperialism evokes the question of leadership. The line must be drawn. When a civil war broke out amongst the Amerikan people in the middle 1800s it was led by warring factions of the white bourgeoisie—the masses simply fought or supported either side as they had been coerced, educated and organized to do. A line was drawn between barbarian wage-slavers in the North and barbarian chattel-slavers in the South. Today, the contradictions of modern wage slavery are ripening conditions in which another civil war may emerge.

This civil war, unlike the last one, is unfolding within a larger revolutionary process in the North Amerikan continent, the western hemisphere and throughout the world. Many true-blue Amerikans tail behind the reactionary leadership of their corporate slave-masters and directly fight to hold back the development of this process. We see this clearly in Grenada, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, the Phillipines, Azania (South Africa), and Lebanon, to name a few critical regions. In time, these die-hard yankees will be tied up fighting others of their own nation who reject the ever-contracting privileges of a dying Amerikan empire.

New Afrika, without a doubt, will con-

tinue to play a leading role in heightening the contradictions that expose the decadent and bestial nature of the Amerikan empire for all oppressed people to see—especially whites. Indeed, it has been said that the Vietnamese dug the grave of world imperialism and oppressed people inside the belly of this dying beast will burst out and bury it. Such allegories, however, have a way of simplifying things. The reality is that while New Afrikans have a leading role in this struggle,



Malcolm X

so do Puerto Rico, Mexico and the Native American nations. And so as well do Amerikans who become radicalized by this objective and historical process of revolutionary struggle. These Amerikans will not sit on the sidelines polishing their golden chains and playing cheerleader while others are breaking their iron chains and doing the real fighting. No, they will fight too.

Already there is fighting. Recently, Judy Clark and David Gilbert were locked up by the US government for being revolutionaries, anti-imperialists and armed Freedom Fighters caught in the line of duty. These two comrades are *not* exceptional white people who stand outside of history and reality. They did not drop from the sky, but emerged

from earthly, historical conditions. They became what they are out of objective circumstances and processes operative in their nation, as in New Afrika. Such material conditions have produced countless Freedom Fighters from our nation, like Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, Malcolm X and even today, Sekou Odinga, Kuwasi Bala-goon, and Assata Shakur, to mention but a few. When we read about whites like Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin who acquired revolutionary reputations in the 60s and have "chilled out" in the 80s, it's a big day for the government. This only occurs because the masses do not yet know of the courage and determination of white Freedom Fighters like Marilyn Buck and others who have taken a political stand that refuses to compromise principles, such as Silvia Baraldini. These examples are the makings of a political leadership that can truly educate and organize white people tried of living under the hammer of a ruling clique who care as little about them as they do about the rest of us.

We will be forced to expand our customary concepts of what leadership is or ought to be. For leadership is not about great enterprising individuals, or an elite organization of self-styled revolutionaries, but is a larger question of movements and whole nations. It is a larger question that requires an analysis of history and of present-day contradictions and obstacles to revolution and social progress.

### FREE THE LAND!

**National Committee to Defend  
New Afrikan Freedom Fighters**  
P.O. Box 1184 Manhattanville Station  
New York, New York 10027  
(212) 367-3167 or 452-0388



## FROM THE JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMITTEE

### Stop Killer Cops!

The current upsurge of Klan activity is part of a general growth in white supremacist violence around the country. In a January 1983 report, the State of California was forced to admit that racist attacks against Third World people had become "a pervasive fact of life" throughout the state. It said that Black and Mexican people see the police posing the same threat of racist violence as groups like the Klan. The government's own statistics bear this out. Police kill over 400 Third World people every year, over one person murdered every day. The Justice Department says that Black people are twice as likely as whites to be arrested and 22 times as likely to be shot by the police.

In Los Angeles between 1979 and 1981 police shot over 350 people, and killed 40 Blacks and Latinos in 1982 alone. 15 of the 18 people who have died from police chokeholds are Black. LA police Chief Gates says Black people have "abnormal" windpipes. Despite racist excuses, the reality of what's going on in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, New York, and every major city across this country is so violent we'd call it race war if it were being carried out by the Ku Klux Klan.

"Stop Killer Cops!" is the demand raised in all Black communities. Now it must become the demand of the anti-Klan movement and all progressive white people as well.

Police terror is not caused by individual racist cops or solved by sensitivity training in modern "professional" police departments. The police are the military enforcers of US rule against Black, Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Native peoples colonized inside the US.

When SWAT teams patrol Black com-

munities they enforce a system where the average income of a Black family is only 55% that of a white family, while unemployment and infant mortality for Black people are twice that for whites. We live in a society that relegates over 50% of Black youth to permanent unemployment and then spends millions to arm the police to arrest them and to build the prisons to warehouse them.

Black people in Amerikkka experience the modern-day slavery of colonialism—the economic, political, and cultural domination of the Black Nation, New Afrika, by US imperialism. Police violence is a necessary weapon in the arsenal of those whose job is to maintain colonialism, white supremacy, and inequality. Only resistance to the whole system will bring it to an end.

In the face of this escalating police terror, there is a long history of organized and spontaneous resistance from Black people. The rebellions in Miami and Liberty City in 1980 and 1983 were not just echoes of the 60s. They represent the growing anger and resistance to police genocide of the 80s. In Milwaukee, 18,000 people protested the 1981 murder of Ernest Lacy, a young Black man whose neck was broken by the police. "People feel the police are at war with the Black community," said one of the march organizers. "The police to me is an army in itself. It's a repressive force that was organized by local and federal government to control, and not protect."

Most recently, 2000 angry Black people filled a Harlem street in July 1983, protesting their exclusion from congressional hearings on police brutality in New York City. In the spring of 1983, Black communities in Ala-

bama demonstrated and boycotted local businesses to protest the police killings of four Black men and the police attack on the Taylor family.

The police also play a key role in government attacks on the revolutionary Black liberation movement and in particular against Freedom Fighters waging armed struggle for New Afrikan independence. The police murder of New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata and the torture of Sekou Odinga, Basheer Hamid, and Abdul Majed were not random police violence but conscious attempts to smash their resistance and undermine their revolutionary example.

Revolutionary organizations like the Black Liberation Army have also played a critical role in targeting the police as the enemy, and have brought killer cops to justice. The 1972 BLA executions of killer cops Foster, Laurie, Jones, and Piagentini were followed by a marked drop in police terror in New York.

Today as US imperialism is facing economic and political crisis here and around the world, the role of the police in controlling America's domestic colonies and all resistance becomes even more important.

The government will also use police violence against white people who rebel or struggle against the system. As the growing anti-intervention movement escalates, with more sit-ins and blockades, it will encounter increasing use of force from the police. The US state's sharpest political repression of white people has been directed at communists and parts of the anti-imperialist movement that work in solidarity with revolutionary national liberation movements inside the US.

More generally, police violence against white working class youth causes some to become alienated from the system. But the economic and social privilege that white people have over all Third World people in the US means that more often white people see the police as protecting them and their property interests.

In fact, for the majority of white people, the rulers of the US have had a conscious strategy to overcome the anti-police sentiment built in the 60s. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds Neighborhood Watch programs in white neighborhoods which encourage people "to become the eyes and ears of the police." Images of "humanized" police are created by the media with soaps like "Hill Street Blues." The government raises the spectre of "terrorism" to justify American military interventions abroad and the unleashing of the FBI and the Grand Juries on revolutionary movements in the US.

At a time when Black resistance to genocide is on the rise it is important for the state to have white support and to create a climate of mass acceptance for police terror. The government's strategy has encouraged the growth of a mass "law and order" movement among white people which calls for the death penalty and more prisons while targeting Third World people as the cause of America's economic and social crisis.

Long established links between the police and organized right-wing and white supremacist movements have also intensified and become more public in this period. Police, prison guards and the military are fertile recruiting ground for the Klan. The recent public Klan marches in US cities would have been impossible without massive police pro-

See **Stop Killer Cops**, page 13



# NEWS BRIEFS

## Electronic Ball and Chain

Cesario Romero, a 23-year-old truck driver convicted of disobeying a police officer in Albuquerque, New Mexico, became one of the first people sentenced to wear the government's new "electronic monitoring anklet," a tiny transmitter locked to his ankle that tells authorities where he is 24 hours a day. Called the GOSSlink, it was invented by a judge who got the idea from a Spiderman comic. The anklet emits a signal every 30 to 90 seconds which is monitored by a computer and informs authorities if the wearer tries to remove it or goes more than 150 feet from his telephone. The Justice Department has given a \$5,000 grant to study the possibilities of the device. Romero was given the choice of wearing it or doing 30 days in jail.

## Neo-Nazis Kill Gay People

An underground fascist group calling itself "Ludwig" claimed responsibility for two fires in gay nightclubs in Amsterdam and Munich that killed 13 persons and injured 27 in January, 1984. The claim was made in a letter to the Italian news agency ANSA that said, "steel and fire are the Nazi punishment," and closed with the old German army motto "Gott mit us" (God with us). The group has murdered eight gay people and others it disapproves of in Italy in the last two years.

## Student Protest in Azania

An Azanian (South African) teenager was killed and several others injured in Atteridgeville, South Africa, when police drove a truck into a crowd of students protesting corporal punishment in the schools. Emma Sathed-geke, 15, died of internal injuries after the police attack. Three schools in the township near Pretoria had been closed in early February as thousands of students boycotted classes.

## ACLU Promotes Klan Terror

The ACLU is again representing the Ku Klux Klan, and this time the ACLU lawyer is a Black man. C. Christopher Clanton, an Alabama attorney, is suing the Chickasaw, Alabama, City Council on behalf of the KKK to allow a march only seven miles from Mobile, where Michael Donald, a Black youth, was murdered and lynched by Klansmen in 1981.

## Right-Wing Vets Torch Temple

A Buddhist temple in Hawley, Massachusetts was torched on New Year's Eve, in revenge for the "Tet" offensive in 1968 that began the American defeat in Vietnam. In calls to TV stations, a man claiming to be a Vietnam vet said the attack would be one of eight. The American Buddhist Center, with no Vietnamese members, was destroyed. Richard Papineu, Roland Voudren and Donald Taylor were arrested and are being defended by the local chapter of the Vietnam Veterans of America.



Tommy Posey of Flint City, Alabama, wearing his camouflage jacket, and surrounded by machine guns, rifles, ammunition, knives and other paraphernalia collected to fight revolutionary movements in Central America. Posey and 10 other vets who make up Civilian Military Assistance have collected \$12,000 worth of equipment and money as well as an estimated 1½ tons of ammunition that will be used against the revolutionary forces in El Salvador.

In a recent visit to El Salvador Posey met with US Embassy and army officials and obtained a letter of introduction from the Embassy official to a Salvadorean army general, with whom he discussed the types of equipment and training needed.

Posey, who owns a Decatur produce business, says his organization makes no claims of being paramilitary but is "my way of getting back into the military without really getting back in. It is a way I can get back at the communists."

## Killer Cops: Miami



The trial of Luis Alvarez, the policeman whose murder of Nevell Johnson in a video arcade provoked a three-day rebellion in Miami's Black Overtown last April, began in mid-January amidst tight security. Witnesses from the video arcade say that Alvarez picked Johnson out almost randomly and Johnson had no gun: Alvarez says he fired in self-defense. (This is another case where the killer cop and his partner go back to their car after the murder, and all of a sudden, the victim has a gun by his dead body.) So far two bomb threats have been called in to the court. Black people are being excluded from the courtroom unless they show ID, but white and Cuban cops are filling the court to show their support for Alvarez.

## Posse Network

Four people in Arkansas were convicted of federal charges for harboring Posse Comitatus leader Gordon Kahl before he was killed last year in his Hitler-style bunker on an Ozark farm. Leonard and Norma Ginter, Arthur Russell and Ed Udey were each convicted on one count of conspiracy and one count of harboring. Kahl, who has become a hero to the Klan and Nazi movements, was sought for killing two federal marshalls in North Dakota. The Posse Comitatus (see Know Your Enemy, in this issue) is a network of armed rightist militants based among midwestern farmers.

## A-bomb Plans for Vietnam

Recently de-classified Defense and State Department reports show that the US drew up plans for nuclear attacks against Vietnam in 1954, to save the French Foreign Legion besieged at Dien Bien Phu. Two studies made in March and April, 1954, and approved by the Army's G-3 planning division, called for one to six 31 kiloton bombs (three times the size of the device dropped in Hiroshima) to be dropped by carrier based aircraft. The plans were cancelled when the Army decided the bombs would not be effective against guerilla forces. The French surrendered at Dien Bien Phu on May 8, 1954, in one of colonialism's most dramatic defeats.

## Vigilante Zionists

An Israeli terrorist organization, TNT (Terror Against Terror) has claimed responsibility for a number of anti-Arab bombings in the Jerusalem area. The latest was a grenade planted February 11, 1984, at a building site near Bethlehem. It is suspected that TNT is based in the Israeli Army, since it uses army-issue explosives. On December 27, a TNT plot to blow up the Moslem shrine, Temple of the Mount, was exposed and prevented. The rise of TNT has coincided with an increase in vigilante terrorism against Palestinians in the occupied West Bank.

## Racist Runs Over Child



A Camden, New Jersey man who deliberately ran down a Puerto Rican child was sentenced to 25 years in prison on January 6. Gerald T. Gerlock hit 7 year old George DeCasanova last March 15, saying he had a "point system for n---rs and sp---." He hit the boy on his bicycle, dragged him under the car, and removed his license plate and drove away. Gerlock has asked for special protection in prison saying, "half the jail's after me."

## WHO WE ARE

The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee is a national organization that mobilizes white people to fight white supremacy. We were formed in 1977 in response to the struggle of Black and Puerto Rican prisoners against KKK organizing among New York State prison guards. In the last year we have fought the Klan and killer cops and built solidarity with the New Afrikan Independence Movement in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Houston, San Antonio, Kalamazoo, Chicago, Boston, Connecticut and New York.

We look to the leadership of national liberation struggles fighting for freedom from U.S. domination and to the New Afrikan Independence Movement in particular. We are a solidarity organization for the New Afrikan Independence Movement — that part of the Black Liberation Movement which fights for land and independence for the Black nation.

The fight against the Klan is fundamentally a fight against U.S. imperialism. We know that the state can never "ban" the Klan. We are committed to building an anti-imperialist mass movement against white supremacy. We unconditionally support all struggles of Black communities against the Klan and police terror. We support New Afrikan Freedom Fighters and the building of armed struggle here in the heart of the U.S. empire. We take our name from the white abolitionist freedom fighter who fought to keep slavery out of Kansas, who led the raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859 and who dedicated his life to the fight against white supremacy. As Malcolm X said: "We need allies who will fight and not tell us to be non-violent. If a white man wants to be an ally, just ask him what does he think of John Brown. Do you know what John Brown did? He went to war."



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We need your help! Send clippings and news of the fight against white supremacy to: *Death to the Klan*  
P.O. Box 406, Peter Stuyvesant Station  
New York, NY 10009

*Death to the Klan!*

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## Michael Stewart, from page 7

On the first day, in the confusion, two of Michael's friends got in to see him. They were horrified to find him still bleeding from the ear and beaten almost beyond recognition. After this, armed guards were posted at the door.

The Black community responded immediately. There was already a heightened level of consciousness and resistance to police terror in New York City. In July, congressional hearings into police brutality in Harlem following the brutal beating of a Black divinity student, drew out so many angry people that frightened officials cancelled them after only twenty minutes. Michael's murder came a few weeks before they were scheduled to re-open, and his case was discussed at a press conference by the Committee Against Racially Motivated Police Violence. The Reverend Ben Chavis called it "a life and death issue." A few days later, the shocked New Wave "punk" community formed a group called *Friends of Michael Stewart*, which demonstrated at the District 4 police station. Over 300 people came to their first demonstration.

After 13 days in a coma, Michael Stewart died on September 28, 1983 at 5:30 a.m. Even though he was still covered with wounds, police continued to insist: "We deny he was beaten." Attorneys for the family subpoenaed the medical records but Bellevue officials refused to turn them over. Michael's body was taken to the office of the New York City Medical Examiner, Dr. Elliot Gross, for autopsy.

The family asked Dr. Gross to delay the autopsy so that Dr. Wolf, who was at a medical conference in Atlanta, could attend. Gross refused. He did allow the presence of Dr. Grauerholtz, a pathologist and an associate of Dr. Wolf. In an unusual procedure, two Transit Police Detectives were also present. During the autopsy Dr. Grauerholtz pointed out to Dr. Gross hemorrhages in Michael's eyes, which were evidence of strangulation.

After consulting privately with the Transit Police Dr. Gross met with the waiting press and released his preliminary findings: "That there was no evidence of physical injury resulting or contributing to death" -- in spite of the 60 wounds on Michael's body and the telltale hemorrhages in his eyes -- and that Michael had died of "cardiac arrest."

The newspapers and the Transit Police announced the case closed. But as the minister at Michael's funeral, attended by 500 people in Brooklyn's Black community said: "We all know his heart stopped. The question is, who stopped it?"

The day after the autopsy, Dr. Gross secretly removed the eyes from Michael's body and placed them in a formalin solution to wash away the evidence of strangulation. As the Stewart family lawyers were to point out, it was the first time in history a N.Y. Medical Examiner had stolen the eyes from a corpse.

But this action is less surprising when we look at why Gross was hired in the first

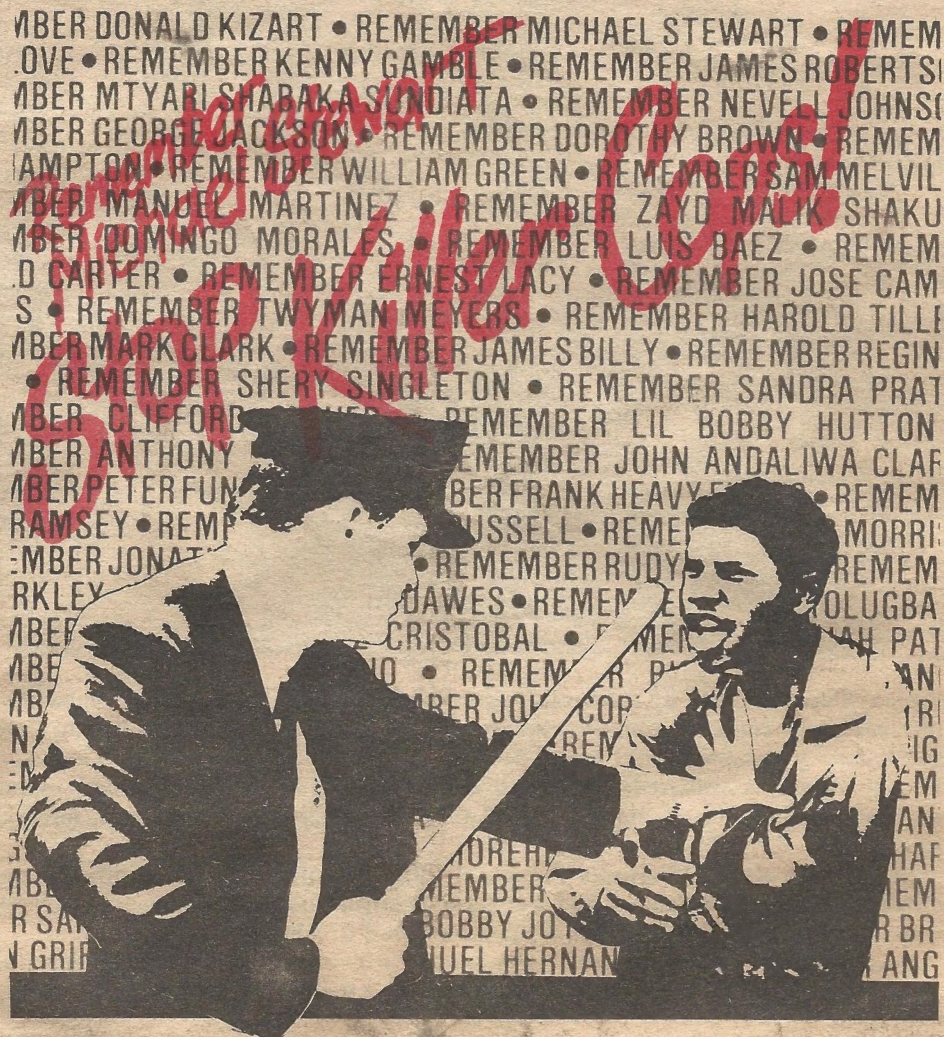
**"We all know his heart stopped. The question is who stopped it."**

place. He was given the job to replace a medical examiner who had been fired for refusing to falsify an autopsy report of a victim of police violence.

In 1978 Arthur Miller, a prominent Black businessman, was murdered by police in an incident that caused even more of outrage than Michael Stewart's murder. Arthur Miller was killed in front of his own home in broad daylight by 11 police in a dispute over a parking ticket. Like Michael, he was strangled with a chokehold. Ten thousand Black people marched across the Brooklyn Bridge to City Hall to protest. The city's Medical Examiner, Dr. Michael Baden, refused to issue the finding that Miller died from "psychosis with exhaustion" and wrote on the report: "asphyxiation by

compression of the neck." Baden was already in trouble for ruling that a Black Vietnam vet who police claimed died in a car wreck, had actually been beaten to death by cops. At the demand of the New York District Attorney, Baden was fired and Gross hired. The DA who fired Baden was the same one investigating Michael Stewart's death, Robert Morgenthau.

On November 1, Dr. Gross released his



"final" autopsy report. It was unconscionably delayed, 35 days after Michael's death, and incomplete, since it did not contain a finding as to the manner of death: homicide, suicide, accidental or otherwise. And it was a lie from start to finish.

The report says that the spinal cord injury caused a cardiac arrest, which in turn caused the brain death from oxygen cut-off. But according to Dr. Wolf, the reverse is true: "All of the pathologic evidence, without exception, indicates that the brain death was the cause of the spinal cord injury which was the effect." In other words, strangulation, a homicide, cut off the oxygen to the brain, which caused the hemorrhage, which injured the spinal cord.

The Medical Examiner's report was tailored to fit the latest police story, that Michael had fallen down the subway stairs. As Dr. Wolf reiterated in a letter to the Stewart family lawyers: "The Chief Medical Examiner willfully substituted the effect for the cause. This is the deception."

Gross still refuses to release medical records and specimens to the family attorneys. The *Friends of Michael Stewart* have mounted a campaign to have him fired; there have been two demonstrations outside his office, and a petition demanding he be fired. There is currently an investigation into his office, initiated by the Stewart family lawyers.

But the main role in the cover-up of the murder of Michael Stewart belongs to the New York County District Attorney, Robert Morgenthau. A one-time Kennedy liberal, Morgenthau pledged when he was sworn into office in 1975 that he would "work closely with the police on the one hand and the courts on the other." No policeman has been indicted while he has held office. In several cases, the courts awarded a cash settlement to the victim's family (\$125,000 in the case of Donald Wright, \$50,000 in the case of Ms. Ruth Alston) but Morgenthau's office empanelled Grand Juries that found "no cause."

Morgenthau may have been involved from the first phone call from hospital officials that kept Dr. Wolf away from his patient.

When a prisoner dies in custody, the Department of Corrections is required to conduct an independent autopsy. But in this case Morgenthau called the Department of Corrections Medical Board to tell them to stay out of the case, that it was not in their jurisdiction. The excuse used was that Michael had not been in the prison ward at Bellevue; but if he had not been in Intensive Care he would have been.

When Michael died, the patrolman who had witnessed the beginning of his beating decided to speak up. Robert Rodriguez went to Morgenthau's office, assuming there would be an investigation. He was told there was not and was sent away. Then later, after he had told what he had seen to Gabe Pressman on Channel 4 News, he was contacted by Morgenthau's

**Morgenthau pledged he would work closely with the police and the courts...**

office. He was interviewed as a hostile witness.

Morgenthau's role became more clear as the coverup became more exposed and the community outrage grew. On October 20, representatives of the Black community filled the hallway outside his office, demanding an investigation into Michael's murder. The *Friends of Michael Stewart* demanded the Transit Police suspend Kostick and the other killers. They were told they could do nothing until there had been an investigation. Dr. Gross gave up talking to the press and said he would only talk to the Grand Jury. Finally, Morgenthau began a Grand Jury investigation into Michael Stewart's murder.

The Grand Jury investigation is just another part of the cover-up. Robert Rodriguez was treated as a hostile witness, and his lawyer feared he was being set up for a perjury indictment. The evidence is being presented in such a dull, dilatory manner that the Amsterdam News reports that many of the Jurors actually sleep through the sessions.

After the Grand Jury was convened the Stewart family lawyers petitioned Governor Cuomo, asking that he appoint a special prosecutor since Morgenthau was obviously only interested in clearing the police.

At the time of this writing (Feb 1) the Grand Jury has not yet indicted anyone. No one expects any surprises. Justice for Michael Stewart, when it comes, will not come from the same system that killed him.

## who killed mcduffie? (a definitive question)

his brain was bashed  
cranium crashed  
skull fractured/broken  
all the way around  
but they said those who beat him  
didn't kill him  
so who killed mcduffie?  
maybe it was the same ones  
who didnt kill  
clifford glover/andy heath/jay parker  
claud reese/andy evans/luis baez  
auturo reyes/bonita carter/eula love  
elizabeth magnum/arthur miller &  
countless others

when they musta tripped or  
their fingers slipped  
maybe it was the same ones  
who didnt kill  
jose torres/zayd shakur/fred & carl  
hampton/jonathon & george/joe dell  
twyman myers/spurgeon winters &  
a few thousand others  
perhaps it was those who didnt kill  
lumumba/che/amilcar/biko/tanon  
mondlane/marighella/cordero &  
quite a few thousand more  
do you suppose it may have been those  
who didnt kill

the indians & mexicans  
who didnt steal the land &  
claim that they discovered it  
who didnt steal afrikan peoples  
halfway across the planet  
who didnt loot our customs/cultures/  
religions/languages/labor & land  
who didnt bomb the japanese/  
vietnamese/& boriqua too  
do you think it might have been those  
who didnt kill at attica/watts/dc/  
detroit/newark/el barrios  
at jackson state, at southern u  
at the algiers motel  
who didnt shoot mark essex for  
16 hours after he was dead  
ask them & they'll tell you  
what they didnt do  
but they cant tell you  
who killed mcduffie  
maybe it was one of those  
seizures unexplainable where he  
beat himself to death  
it wouldnt be unusual  
our history is full of cases where we  
attack nightsticks & flashlights with our heads  
choke billyclubs with our throats till we die  
jump in front of bullets with our backs  
throw ourselves into rivers with  
our hands and feet bound  
and hang ourselves on trees/in prison cells  
by magic

so it shouldn't be a mystery that  
nobody killed mcduffie  
he just died the way so many of us do  
of a disease nobody makes a claim to  
the police say they didnt do it  
the mayor says he didnt do it  
the judges say they didnt do it  
the gov't says it didnt do it  
nixon says he didnt do it  
the fbi/cia/military establishment  
says they didnt do it  
xerox/exxon/itt say they didnt do it  
the klan & nazis say they didnt do it  
(say they were busy in greensboro &  
wrightsville)

i know i didnt do it  
that dont leave nobody but you  
& if you say you didnt do it  
we're back to where we started  
looking for nobody  
who killed mcduffie  
you remember nobody dont you  
like with de facto segregation  
where they said the schools were segregated  
but nobody did it on purpose  
like when they said there's been  
job discrimination for years  
but nobody did it intentionally  
thats the nobody we're looking for  
the one with the motive to kill mcduffie  
& you see, we must find this nobody  
who slew mcduffie  
because the next person nobody will beat,  
stomp, hang or shoot to death  
wont be mcduffie  
it'll be you or someone close to you  
so for your own safety,  
you should know the pedigree of  
who killed mcduffie  
you should know the reason of  
who killed mcduffie  
you should remember all those forgotten  
who died of the disease nobody makes a  
claim to  
so we wont be here asking  
who killed you.

Hakim Al-Jamil  
Leavenworth Prison